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THE MARTYR PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

THERE took place recently in Rome an event of supreme interest to Catholics the world over, but of special significance to those with Irish blood flowing through their veins and throbbing around their hearts: the beatification of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.

The future martyr was born at Loughcrew, in the county of Meath, just two hundred years before the passing of the Act of Catholic Emancipation, a time when the mere fact of being a Catholic was looked upon as a crime, when it was considered a treasonable act for a priest to be found in the country, and when the attendance at a Catholic school was made a pretext for the confiscation of property. His early education was received from a kinsman, Dr. Patrick Plunket, himself an undaunted confessor for the faith, who presided over the See of Ardagh. Under his guidance the younger Plunket remained until his sixteenth year, when he, together with several other Irish youths, accompanied the Italian Oratorian, Father Scarampa, to Rome and became a student at the Irish College. After nine years of arduous study he was ordained to the priesthood, and became professor of theology in the College of the Propaganda, which position he held for twelve years. When, in 1669, the Primatial See of Armagh was made vacant by the death at Louvain of the exiled Archbishop, Dr. O'Reilly, and names were recommended as possible successors, the Pope (Clement IX.) put them all aside, saying, "Why delay in discussing the merits

of others whilst we have here in Rome a native of that island, whose merits are known to all of us, and whose labors in this city have already added so many wreaths to the peerless glory of the Isle of Saints. Let Dr. Oliver Plunket be Archbishop of Armagh." It was the priest's wish to be consecrated within the Holy City, but the idea was forsaken at the suggestion of the Vatican authorities, who wished to conceal the appointment from the English Government. Dr. Plunket, therefore, journeyed to Belgium, and was consecrated on the feast of St. Andrew, 1669, "without noise and with closed doors," in the private chapel of the Bishop of Ghent.

It was in March, 1670, that he entered on his apostolate in Armagh. The Viceroy at that time was Lord Roberts, of Truro, a stern Presbyterian zealot, during whose administration the new Archbishop was obliged, in order to conceal his identity, "to go under the name of Captain Bruno (Brown), with a sword, wig and pistols." It is well-nigh impossible to conceive what fulfillment of his Primatial duties meant to the Archbishop in those days of persecution. But he was not one to quail before duty; although his position was fraught with perils and hardships, no consideration of personal risk or discomfort prevented him from a most zealous exercise of the sacred ministry. In six weeks' occupancy of his see, we are told, he confirmed ten thousand persons. "What renders this more surprising," notes his biographer, the late Cardinal Moran, "is the consideration of the many toils he had thus to undergo, for often he had to seek out their abodes in the mountains and in the woods, and often, too, were the sacraments administered under the broad canopy of heaven, both flock and pastor being alike exposed to the winds and rain."

By the appointment in June, 1670, of Lord Berkeley as Lord Lieutenant the penal statutes of the Tudors and Stuarts were held in abeyance, and the Archbishop of Armagh made the most of the opportunity: he not only penetrated to every corner of his own diocese, but undertook a laborious visitation of the whole province of Ulster, preaching and exhorting in both English and Irish; he crossed overseas to the Hebrides and visited the Highlands of Scotland; he summoned provincial synods, in which many wise decrees were passed for the regulation of discipline and the good of religion; and to provide for the education of the youth in the Catholic faith he established a school at Drogheda and called the Jesuits from Rome to take charge of it.

But with Berkeley's dismissal from office in 1672 the abated storm again broke forth with all its fury: the penal laws which had fallen into desuetude were again enforced to the letter. Schools.

and churches were closed, rewards were offered for the capture of Bishops and priests; while the faithful were forced to fly into hiding places in woods and morasses or else be thrown into prison. No Catholic was exempt from these nefarious penal laws, least of all Dr. Oliver Plunket, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. The hardships endured by the prelate can be realized from his correspondence of this period. To the Hbly See he writes:

The hut in which Dr. Brennan and myself have taken refuge is made of straw; when we lie down to rest, through the openings in the roof we can see the stars; and when it rains we are refreshed, even at the head of the bed, by each successive shower.

And again in a letter sent to the Internuncio at Brussels we read:

The snow fell heavily, mixed with hailstones which were hard and large. A cutting north wind blew in our faces and the snow and hail beat so dreadfully in our eyes that up to the present we have hardly been able to see with them. Often we were in danger in the valleys of being lost and suffocated in the snow, till at length we arrived at the house of a reduced gentleman who had nothing to lose. But for our misfortune, he had a stranger in his house by whom he did not wish to be recognized, hence we were placed in a garret without chimney and without fire, where we have been for the past eight days. May it redound to the glory of God, the salvation of our souls and the flock entrusted to our charge.

The "Popish plot" concocted and worked out in England by the Earl of Shaftesbury, of whom Macaulay wrote: "He was one to whose seared conscience the death of an innocent man gave no more uneasiness than the death of a partridge," was extended to Ireland with political as well as religious ends in view. Peter Talbot, the Archbishop of Dublin, who had rendered important services to the royal brothers during their exile, was thrown into prison. He was examined regarding the plot, but nothing was shown to criminate him. After two years in prison he died. It is from a letter reporting his death to the Holy See that we learn the perilous position of the Primate at this time. "I am morally certain," he wrote, "that I shall be taken, so many are in search of me; yet in spite of danger I will remain with my flock; nor will I abandon them till I am dragged to the ship."

Writs were repeatedly issued for the arrest of Dr. Plunket. It was his own zeal and charity, however, that accomplished what had proved futile by searchings and rewards. The news had reached him that his former tutor and kinsman, the aged Patrick Plunket, was dying at Dublin. Regardless of the consequences he visited

Dublin and administered the rites of the Church to the dying Bishop. Here, on December 6, 1679, he was seized and cast into prison. The charge was the usual one of having received orders in the Church of Rome; but a promise of reward afterwards induced false witnesses, "strong swearers," to select Plunket for the instigator of the "plot" in Ireland. The "made-to-order" evidence for this charge is shown in an undersigned manuscript document in the London Record Office:

Coll. Fitz Patrick delivered to the Pope's Internuncio at Brussels a letter subscribed by four R. C. Bishops, two of which were Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Tyrrel, Bishop of Clogher, recommending the said Fitz Patrick for the only person fit to be intrusted general of an army for establishing the R. C. religion in Ireland under the French Sovereignty.

A whole host of perjured informers were at hand to swear his life away. Among them was a trio of apostate priests, who, like their chief, John McMoyer, had been suspended by the Archbishop for their vices. Of McMoyer, Dr. Plunket states in a letter to the Internuncio that "his dissolute life was notorious, and he was always half-drunk when he appeared before the tribunals." The injustice of the whole procedure is evident from a letter of Francis Gwyn to Ormond (May 15, 1680). "Particular care," he writes, "should be taken that no Papist should be on any of the juries." The trial, however, was adjourned, because so infamous was the reputation of McMoyer and his associates that they dared not appear against the Primate in Ireland. Consequently, in the month of October, 1680, Dr. Oliver Plunket was cited to appear before the King and Parliament in London. His innocence was known to Charles, who really was a Catholic at heart, but he sacrificed him to his abominable policy. We are told by Lingard, who is perhaps the most painstaking of all English historians, that when the Earl of Essex, a former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, solicited the Primate's pardon, knowing the falseness of the charge, the King with indignation replied: "Then, my lord, be his blood on your conscience. You might have saved him if you would. I cannot pardon him, because I dare not."

On the 8th of June, 1681, Dr. Plunket, alone and friendless, was formally placed on trial before an English judge and English jury. The keynote of this mock-trial was struck by the opening speech of the Attorney General: "May it please your Lordship, and you gentlemen of the jury, the character this gentleman bears as Primate under a foreign and usurped jurisdiction will be a great inducement to you to give credit to that evidence we shall produce before you."

Perjured witnesses attested on oath that the Archbishop was planning to raise an army of seventy thousand Irish to assist the French army in their invasion; that he had collected large sums of money for their maintenance, and that he had prepared for the French military authorities charts and plans of the Irish ports and fortifications along the seacoast. "The grim truth was," as Mr. Shane Leslie comments, "that it was the King himself who was secretly in league with King Louis, who had agreed under certain circumstances to send troops to England."

When asked to defend himself the holy Archbishop declared that it was impossible for him to do so. "Your Lordship," he said, "sees how I am dealt with: first and foremost, I have not time to bring my witnesses or my records, which if I had I would not weigh one farthing to leave my cause with any jury in the world. . . . My Lord, my life is in imminent danger, because I am brought out of my own country, where these people would not be believed against me." A fierce diatribe by the counsel for the Crown followed the Primate's words, and then the jury, having been charged bitterly against the prisoner by Chief Justice Pemberton, retired, and in fifteen minutes brought in their verdict of *Guilty*.

Six days later the Archbishop was again led to the bar to hear the sentence of the law. After listening to another tirade against himself and the Catholic religion, he asked leave to speak. The request was granted, and the intrepid prelate spoke. "If I were a man," he said, "that had no care of my conscience or heaven or hell, I might have saved my life; for I was offered it by divers people here if I would confess my own guilt and accuse others. But I had rather die ten thousand deaths than wrongfully to take away one farthing of any man's goods, one day of his liberty, or one minute of his life." Then the usual formula of sentence was read: "You shall be hanged by the neck, but cut down before you are dead; your bowels shall be taken out and burnt before your face; your head shall be cut off, and your body divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as his Majesty pleases." With placid composure he heard this terrible sentence, and lifting his eyes toward heaven prayed: "God Almighty bless your Lordship." He was happy: the dream of years was about to be realized. It is narrated that when a holy old priest prophesied to him, before he set out from Rome for Ireland, that his blood would be spilt for the Catholic faith, the future martyr replied: "I am unworthy of such a favor; nevertheless, aid me with your prayers that this my desire may be fulfilled."

The request to treat of spiritual matters with a Catholic priest

was denied the Archbishop; he was told that he could have the services only of a minister of the Church of England. But Divine Providence planned otherwise: a fellow prisoner, Father Corker, a Benedictine, with the assistance of some of the prison officials, brought the prelate the consolations of his Eucharistic Lord. To this priest we are indebted for an account of how Dr. Plunket bore himself during his days at Newgate. "It was then," the Benedictine writes, "that I clearly witnessed in him the Spirit of God and the amiable fruits of the Holy Ghost—charity, joy and peace—splendidly shining in his soul." He goes on to say that the Archbishop spent his time in almost continual prayer; that he fasted three or four days a week; and that his joy seemed to increase with his danger, and was fully accomplished by an assurance of death. In the letters, too, of the high-souled prelate himself, penned shortly before he suffered, is evinced the dauntless spirit with which he welcomed his terrible end. To Michael Plunket, a relative at the Irish College, he wrote: "I die most willingly, and being the first among the Irish, I will teach others, with the grace of God, by example, not to fear death. . . . I forgive all who had a hand, directly or indirectly, in my death and in my innocent blood."

On July 11, 1681, Ireland's Primate, stretched on a wooden hurdle, was dragged through the streets of London to Tyburn, the place of execution. On the scaffold he asseverated his innocence, and, like his Divine Model, forgave his enemies. As the hangman's halter was being adjusted he intoned the "Miserere" and said other prayers aloud. Then, as he spoke the words, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*, the cart was drawn away, and Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, had won the martyr's crown.

The contemporary Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Brennan, the faithful companion of the martyr, tells us that the vast throng that witnessed the martyrdom were greatly edified, "because he displayed such a serenity of countenance, such a tranquillity of mind and elevation of soul, that he seemed rather a spouse hastening to the mystical feast than a culprit led forth to the scaffold." "In his death," notes an eye-witness, "he gave more glory to religion than he could have won for it by many years of a fruitful apostolate."

The body of the martyr is preserved at St. Gregory's College, Downside, England; his head is with the Sisters of St. Dominic in their convent at Drogheda in Ireland, where pilgrims come from distant lands to pay homage to this staunch son of Erin, who lost his life only to find it.

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THE AUTHORITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH CON-
SIDERED ACCORDING TO THE COMMON
LAW PRINCIPLES.

THE purpose of this article is to consider the relationship existing between Christ and His Church according to the principles of our common law. The author believes that a consideration of these principles will throw light upon her claim that she is the living representative of Jesus Christ on earth; that with their aid one can check up her claim that she has the right to command the obedience of every one.

When the Church attempts to prove her claim of authority, her strongest proof is to cite certain passages of Holy Scripture. But how far do these authorize her? What are the limits of her authority? Was she ever authorized by Jesus Christ at all, and granted that she was authorized, did she not, because of her evil deeds, because of the lax lives of her ministers, lose that authority? Or, again, may she not have been authorized to perform certain acts, but that she is taking advantage of her position to assert an authority which she never received and to which she has no claim?

These are questions which have a most vital interest to all of us, because on the correct answer depends our eternal salvation. If we Catholics have answered these questions wrongly, then the sooner we leave the Church the better, all the more so because, from a human standpoint, she is the toughest of all Christian churches to live up to. If, on the other hand, we are right, then the sooner this is driven home in the minds of our Protestant friends the better. We believe that they will be the first to admit that we are bound to listen to Jesus Christ, and if Jesus Christ has authorized His Church to speak for Him, then when we disregard the Church we disregard Him, because we refuse to obey Him.

Our law will throw light upon this problem. The words of Jesus Christ are just as much law as are the decrees of our courts or the statutes of our legislatures. Therefore, where these principles are founded on justice and right reason, where they are not unreasonable or arbitrary, there is no reason why they should not be as applicable to the law of God as to the law of man.

It is in the law that we find that combination of the theoretical and the practical that is so seldom met with elsewhere. We find the theoretical in the principles of the law which the court is called upon to administer. There is, however, a very real, practical aspect. Every time that the court is called upon to perform some act, there are a plaintiff and a defendant present before it, there is a case

demanding that justice be done. This is something which should never be lost sight of whenever a decision is cited. In not one is the court merely annunciating some abstract principle of the law, but there is present before it an actual cause demanding that justice be honestly and fairly administered. Thus are these principles tested in the fire of actual experience, and thus are new principles added and old principles changed as the circumstances which gave rise to them are altered or changed.

It is this flexibility that gives the common law its advantage over statutory law. For not all our law is found in statutes. Our law is divided into the common or unwritten law and the written or statutory law. The common law is the gradual evolution of centuries. It was brought from England by the first colonists, and some of its principles date back to the Norman conquest. Its principles are founded upon reason and justice. Chief Justice Shaw, of Massachusetts, a judge justly celebrated for his deep learning, in his decision in the *Norway Plains Co. vs. Boston, etc., R. Co.*, 67 Massachusetts, 263, on page 267, said as follows:

It is one of the great merits and advantages of the common law that instead of a series of detailed practical rules, established by positive provisions and adapted to the precise circumstances of the particular cases, which would become obsolete and fail when the practice and course of business to which they apply should cease or change, the common law consists of a few broad and comprehensive principles, founded on reason, natural justice and enlightened public policy, modified and adapted to the circumstances of all the particular cases which fall within it.

Judge Swayne, of our Supreme Court, in *Dickerson vs. Colgrove*, 100 U. S., 578, on page 584, said as follows:

The common law is reason dealing by the light of experience in human affairs. One of its merits is that it has the capacity to reach the ends of justice by the shortest paths.

We find the court speaking as follows in the case of *Sullivan vs. Minneapolis and Rainy River Ry. Co.*, 45 L. R. A. (N. S.), 612, 121 Minnesota, 488, quoting with approval from *Minneapolis vs. St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Ry. Co.*, 28 L. R. A. (N. S.), 298, 98 Minnesota, 380:

[The common law] is not a codification of exact or inflexible rules for human conduct, for the redress of injuries or protection against wrongs, nor yet a mere figment of judicial genius, but on the contrary is the embodiment of broad and comprehensive unwritten principles, inspired by natural reason, an innate sense of justice, adopted by common consent for the regulation and government of the affairs of men. It is

the growth of ages, and an examination of many of its principles, as annunciated and discussed in the books, discloses a constant improvement and development in keeping with advancing civilization and new conditions of society. (Holmes, "Common Law," 1-5, 36 et. seq.) Its guiding star has always been the rule of right and wrong, and in this country its principles demonstrate there is, in fact as well as in theory, a remedy for all wrongs.

The reader will find these principles set forth, together with a host of authorities in their support, by consulting 2 Corpus Juris, 178.

In order that we may properly ascertain just what principles are applicable to the relationship existing between Jesus Christ, His Church and mankind at large, we must first determine the legal nature of this relationship. For the law is divided according to its subject-matter. Thus we have the law of corporations, the law of partnership, the law of agency and many others, each with its own set of principles.

There can hardly be any question that the relation between Jesus Christ and His Church is that of principal and agent. Now, the question as to whether or not the relation between two persons is, or is not, that of principal and agent is to be determined according to whether the requirements set forth by law are met, and the ideas which the parties may hold on the subject have nothing to do with the matter.

2 Corpus Juris, 423—If the facts establish the relation of principal and agent as a matter of law, the intention of the parties is immaterial.

21 Ruling Case Law, 819—If the relations exist which will constitute an agency, it will be an agency whether the parties understood it or not. Their private intentions will not affect it.

Care must be used that this principle be not misunderstood. Agency will not be declared against the will of the principal. If, however, the court, after examining into the facts, find that all the legal requisites are present, then they will declare that the relation is that of principal and agent, whatever the principal's ideas on the subject may be.

It is also well to remember that the term "agent" is a very broad one and "includes a great many classes of persons to which distinctive appellations are given" (2 Corpus Juris, 420), as brokers, factors, attorneys, cashiers of banks, clerks, consignees, apprentices, auctioneers, bailees, executors and administrators, shipmasters, independent contractors, partners, public officers and trustees.

21 Ruling Case Law, 817.

2 Corpus Juris, 420.

Clark & Skyles on Agency, p. 6.

Porter vs. Herman, 8 California, 619, 625.

Norfolk and Western R. R. Co. vs. Cottrell, 83 Virginia 512, 517.

The question that we are called upon to decide is whether or not the legal requisites of an agency are presented as between Jesus Christ and His Church. Now the legal requisites are extremely simple: First, did the principal authorize the agent to perform certain acts for him? Secondly, did the agent act under his authorization?

The law on this subject is thus expressed in *Sternaman vs. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*, 170 New York, 512, on page 517:

The distinguishing features of the agent are his representative capacity and his derivative authority.

In *Wyngan vs. the State*, 157 Indiana, 577, on page 579, the court said:

The term "agent" is one of wide signification. It is defined to be "one who acts for another by authority from him" (Webster's International Dictionary); "one who undertakes to transact some business or manage some affair for another, by authority and on account of the latter, and render an account of it" (I. American and Eng. Enc. of Law, second edition, 938.) *The term "agent" may, therefore, be said to apply to any one who by authority performs an act for another.*

Peters and St. Louis and S. F. R. R. Co., 150 Missouri Appeals, 736, 737.

Clement vs. Caufield, 28 Vermont, 302, 304.

Norfolk and Western R. R. Co. vs. Cottrell, 83 Virginia, 512, 517.

2 Corpus Juris, 419.

Huffcut on Agency, page 5.

The legal test is, therefore whether Jesus Christ authorized the Church to do certain things, to perform certain acts, and whether the Church acted by virtue of such authorization.

With regard to the question as to whether or not Jesus Christ authorized His Church to represent Him, we might easily satisfy ourselves with a negative argument, that if Jesus Christ did not authorize the Roman Catholic Church to speak for and to represent Him, then He never founded any Church at all and His religion died with Him. And this is obvious enough, because the Roman Catholic Church is the only one that dates back to the time of the Apostles.

After all, however, this is but a negative argument and, like most negatives, it is not the most satisfactory form of argument, even

though it suffices. Now, the most natural place in which to look for any authorization, granted that it existed, would be in Holy Scripture. And here we find that:

CHRIST FOUNDED A CHURCH

St. Matthew, xvi., 18, 19—"And I say to thee: That thou art Peter, and *upon this rock I will build My Church*, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven."

But in the original it was far stronger than it appears in the English translation. "The word Peter in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, which our Saviour spoke, means a rock. The sentence runs thus in that language: 'Thou art a rock, and on this rock I will build My Church.'¹

St. Matthew xviii., 17, 18—"And if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican. Amen, I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven."

THE CHURCH IS AUTHORIZED TO PREACH THE GOSPEL

St. Mark xvi., 15—"Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

St. Matthew xxviii., 18-20—"And Jesus coming spoke to them, saying: All power is given to me in heaven and on earth. Going therefore *teach ye all nations*, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. *Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."

WE MUST LISTEN TO THE CHURCH

St. Luke x., 16—"He that heareth you, heareth Me: and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me. And he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me."

St. Matthew xviii., 17—"And if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican."

We have, therefore, proved that Jesus Christ did authorize His Church to perform certain acts. The second requisite is that the agent act under such authorization. That the Church did so act is a matter of history. We have, therefore, proved that the relation existing between Jesus Christ and His Church is that of principal and agent.

Possibly some may ask whether the relation is not that of master and servant rather than that of principal and agent. The law of

¹ "The Faith of Our Fathers," p. 123.

master and servant is, however, to all practical purpose the same as that of principal and agent, and the principles which we will lay down in the course of this article are equally true in either case.

2 Corpus Juris, 423—The relations of principal and agent and master and servant are frequently confused. In general the principles governing the rights, duties and liabilities are the same, and to determine whether a given relation is one of agency or one of service is of no consequence. This results from the fact that the law of principal and agent is an outgrowth of the law of master and servant.

The legal distinction between these two relations is a very difficult matter even for a trained lawyer.

2 Corpus Juris, 423—The distinction between principal and agent and master and servant is very difficult to define.

Inasmuch as the legal consequences are in both cases the same, we do not believe that any good end would be attained by entering into a highly technical discussion on the subject.

Since the relation of Jesus Christ and His Church is that of principal and agent, the question that naturally arises is to ascertain to just what extent the principal, Jesus Christ, is bound by the acts of His agent, His Church.

First and obviously, a principal is bound by those acts which he expressly authorizes and which he intends his agent to perform. And this must obviously be so, since were the rule otherwise, he could never act through an agent. No one would be so foolish as to bind himself if the other party were not likewise bound.

Bank vs. Hay, 143 North Carolina, 326, 330—The principal is held liable upon a contract made by his agent with a third person: (1) When the agent acts within the scope of his actual authority.

Meecham on Agency, second edition, sec. 714—In determining the question of the existence of the agent's authority, the starting point must, of course, always be to ascertain the authority, if any, which was expressly, consciously and intentionally conferred by the principal upon the agent. Any act so authorized binds the principal upon the clearest doctrines of agency, and for this reason questions in this field very rarely arise.

Huffcut on Agency, page 128—It is obvious that if the principal has actually authorized the contract specifically or generally, that he will be bound by it in the same manner as if he had made it in person. The agent in such a case is merely an instrumentality which correctly manifests the will of the principal. This is the object of the agency and the object is attained. Every consideration that leads to the enforcement of contracts made in person calls equally for the enforcement of the contract made under these circumstances.

21 Ruling Case Law, 855—Very obviously the principal is liable for all such acts and statements of his agent as he may have expressly authorized.

As we have pointed out, Jesus Christ authorized His Church to preach the Gospel, and He commanded us to listen to her. Therefore, when we listen to her because Jesus Christ Himself commanded us to do so, he is bound just as much as though He were present and every word fell from His lips.

Further than this, let the reader remember that when an agent acts within the scope of his authority, when he performs the acts for which he was appointed by the principal, it is not the agent, in contemplation of law, who performs the act, but the principal, because "the agent in such a case is merely an instrumentality which correctly manifests the will of the principal."² And so much is such an act the act of the principal that the agent assumes no personal liability with regard to the proper carrying out of the contract.³ A humble example will make this clear enough. When you, gentle reader, go to the railroad station and purchase your ticket, it is the railroad company who sells the ticket through the instrumentality of the agent, and not the agent himself. In the same way, if you went to the store and bought furniture, it would be the store that sold the goods, acting through the salesman. If the furniture were not as represented, you would not dream of bringing action against the salesman personally, but you would feel that you should receive redress from the store itself. So when you, gentle reader, remembering that Jesus Christ has authorized His Church to preach the Gospel, receive her teachings on the word of Jesus Christ, you are receiving the teachings of Jesus Christ Himself, because it is Jesus Christ speaking through the instrumentality of His Church, the instrumentality which He Himself has made of His own free choice and in the selection of which you had absolutely no voice.

Since the Church is but the instrumentality through which Jesus Christ speaks, it necessarily follows that when the Church does so speak she is infallible. It is because this doctrine of infallibility is not understood that it is so strenuously resisted. When the Church claims to be infallible, she means no more than this: That when she speaks as the living representative of Jesus Christ she cannot commit error. Webster's International Dictionary defines "infallible" as follows:

Not fallible; not capable of erring; exempt from liability to mistake; unerring; inerrable. *R. C. Ch.* Incapable of error in defining doctrines of faith or morals.

² Huffcut on Agency, page 6.

³ Corpus Juris, 812.

Since it is not the Church, but Jesus Christ Himself, speaking through His chosen instrumentality, it follows that any error that the Church may commit is the error of Jesus Christ, which is an impossibility, because Jesus Christ is God. The reason that the Church cannot commit error is not based upon any peculiar wisdom of her members, but because those speaking have ceased to be mere men, acting on their own initiative and speaking from their own knowledge, but have become His living voice, authorized to speak for and by Him.

So far as the law is concerned we might well let the matter drop at this point, feeling that we had proved our proposition up to the hilt. So far as the authority of the Church is concerned, she is the living voice of Jesus Christ Himself. So far as its duration is concerned, it will last as long as this world will last (St. Matthew xxviii., 20).

Nevertheless, because of its extreme importance and because of the virulence with which it has been attacked, we have thought that further consideration is not at all out of place.

It is a well-settled principle of the law of agency that the powers which an agent receives should be construed according to the character bestowed upon the agent by the principal. Having given him the character of one authorized to speak for him in a given capacity, the principal cannot deny the authority.

Meeham on Agency, second edition, sec. 709—By the creation of the agency, the principal bestows upon the agent a certain character. For some purpose, during some time and to some extent, the agent is the alter ego, the other self of the principal. The purpose, time and extent are determined by the principal to suit the needs or objects he has in view, and which the agent is to accomplish. They, however, are matters with which third persons have no part; they are considered and determined by the principal alone. What third persons are interested in is not the secret processes of the principal's mind, but the visible result of these processes—the character in which the agent is held out by the principal to those who have occasion or opportunity to deal with him. This character is a tangible, discernible thing, and so far as third persons are concerned, must be held to be authorized, as it is the only expression and evidence from which the principal intends that they shall determine his purposes and objects. They must conclude, and have a right to conclude, that the principal intends the agent to have and exercise those powers, and those only, which naturally and properly belong to the character in which he holds him out.

The authority of an agent in any given case, therefore, is an attribute bestowed upon him in that case by the principal. Thus, if the principal has by his express act or by the logical and legal result of his words or conduct impressed upon the agent the

character of one authorized to act or speak for him in a given capacity, authority so to speak and act follows as a necessary attribute of the character, and the principal having conferred the character relied thereon in good faith, cannot assert that he did not intend to impose so much authority. . . . The latter question is one to be settled between the agent and himself. It rested with the principal to determine in the first instance what character he would impart, but having made the determination and imparted the character, he must be held to have intended also the usual and legal attributes of the character.

Harrison vs. Kansas City, C. and K. R. R. Co.; 50 Missouri Appeals, 332, 337—The general rule in such cases is that those dealing with an agent have a right to conclude that the principal intends the agent to have and exercise those powers and those only which necessarily, properly and legitimately belong to the character in which he holds him out.

Also, Austrian & Co. vs. Springer, 94 Michigan, 343, 349; Hibbard vs. Peck, 75 Wisconsin, 519—The authority of an agent in any given case is incidental to the character bestowed upon him by the principal. If the principal has by express act or the logical result of his words or conduct impressed upon the agent the character of one authorized to act and speak for him in a given capacity, authority so to speak and act follows as a necessary incident of the character, and the principal, having conferred the character, will not be heard to assert, as against third parties who relied thereon in good faith, that he did not intend to impose such authority.

Here Jesus Christ has given His Church the character of one authorized to speak for Him, and having conferred the character, He likewise conferred the authority.

Not only is the principal bound by such powers as he may have expressly given, but likewise such as are necessarily implied, such as are a necessary and proper means of carrying into effect the powers that he has expressly given.

The court in the case of the Title Guaranty and Surety Co. vs. Hay, 175 Kentucky, 671, 194 S. W., 922, on page 924, quotes 2 Corpus Juris, 576, as follows:

Express authority, as involved in the law of agency, is that authority which the principal directly grants to the agent, and this includes by implication, whether the agency is general or special, unless restricted to the contrary, all such powers as are proper and necessary as a means of effectuating the purposes for which the agency was created.

The court also quoted Meecham on Agency, sec. 282:

The authority of an agent, so far as it concerns the right of third persons, may thus be a composite matter made up of a number of elements. It consists, first and primarily, of the powers directly and intentionally conferred by the voluntary act of the principal; second, of those incidental powers which are rea-

sonably necessary and proper to carry into effect the main powers conferred and which are not likewise known to be prohibited.

Referring to these and other authorities, the court said:

From these authorities it follows that the authority of a general agent, as to third persons, is to be determined by the nature of the business and is *prima facie* coextensive with its requirements. Citations.

Dispatch Printing Co. vs. National Bank of Commerce, 109 Minnesota, 440, 448. Express authority, as involved in the law of principal and agent, is that which the principal expressly grants to the agent, and this includes by implication, whether the agency be general or special, unless restricted to the contrary, all such powers as are proper and necessary as a means of effectuating the purposes for which the agency was created.

In Cullinen vs. Bowker, 180 New York, 93, on page 97, the court said that the powers which the agent received include "all the usual means for the effective performance of his duties."

United States Bedding Co. vs. Andre, 41 L. R. A. (N. S.), 1019, 1021; 105 Arkansas, 111; National Bank of the Republic vs. Old Town Bank, 112 Federal, 726, 728; Channell Bros. vs. West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., 87 S. E. (W. Va.), 876; Douglas & Varum vs. Village of Morrisville, 95 Atl. (Vermont), 810, 831; Moler vs. Louisville & Nashville R. R. Co., 195 S. W. (Mo.), 524; Harrison vs. Kansas City, C. & S. R. R. Co., 50 Missouri Appeals, 332, 21 Ruling Case Law, 843.

The question is, therefore, to decide what powers are implied when Jesus Christ expressly commanded His Church to preach the Gospel and to teach all nations. Obviously, if there is a duty resting on the Church to teach us, there is a duty resting on us to be taught by the Church. Otherwise Christ would be commanding His Church to do a vain task, because the command can be carried out only when we are taught. A teacher necessarily implies pupils, and as Jesus Christ commanded His Church to teach all, so we are all commanded to listen to her. One necessarily follows the other.

The power which the Church claims to compel obedience and to insist that we receive her teachings, the power to pledge that her doctrines are the doctrines of Jesus Christ and that her words are His words, is the necessary and proper means of carrying into effect her power to teach all nations and to preach the Gospel. Whatever power she has to enforce her teachings she receives by virtue of the authority conferred upon her by Jesus Christ. Aside from this she is absolutely without any authority of any nature whatsoever. There is no power inherent in her ministers as individuals. Wisdom gives them no authority any more than mere knowledge of the law au-

thorizes our judiciary. Therefore, unless she can give assurance that what she teaches is the living voice of Jesus Christ, we are under no obligation whatsoever to listen to her, and she would be without the power to preach the Gospel or to teach all nations. Without it you, gentle reader, would have just as much authority to teach as does the Church. It is by virtue of the jurisdiction which the court receives that gives authority to its decisions and renders its decrees the law of the land. It is just as essential to the orderly administration of the law of Jesus Christ that His Church be authorized to take cognizance and to decide the various questions as they arise. We have only to look at the religious anarchy that exists in the Protestant world to-day to see where a contrary principle would lead.

Further than this, if we had the power of reviewing the teachings of the Church and of deciding just how far she could go, as to just when she was preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ and just when she was not, then we would be in authority over the Church and we would be teaching the Gospel to the Church and not the Church teaching the Gospel to us.

15 *Corpus Juris*, 721. A superior court is a court with controlling authority over some other court or courts . . . Inferior courts are those which are subordinate to other courts or which are of a very limited jurisdiction; those which are of a very restricted jurisdiction and whose judgments and decrees can be reviewed by the higher tribunals.

Does the body of the Church constitute a superior court to which the Church should look to for guidance?

15 *Corpus Juris*, 1025. The principal function of such courts [appellate courts] is the exercise of supervision over the subordinate courts, and the correction of errors which the latter courts have committed.

We wonder if any one really believes that the duties of the body of the Church is to supervise the teaching body of the Church and to correct its errors, and that if it is not possible that when Jesus Christ commanded His Church to teach that He meant exactly what He said, and that in case of conflict when we, in our wisdom, decide one way and the Church another, that He intended that the Church should constitute the superior tribunal, that she should constitute our court of appeals rather than that the Church should look to us for enlightenment? We leave it to our readers to decide which is the more reasonable.

Lest any doubt remain in the mind of the reader and lest there be any fear that, after all, the Church, being composed of human beings endowed with free will, that in the course of time she may

have "gone wrong," and that she may have fallen away, and that she no longer represents the teachings of Jesus Christ, and that, therefore, she is no longer acting as His living representative on earth, we will next take up the principles of what is known to lawyers as "equitable estoppel." In its essentials it is simple enough. If I by my words or conduct (or even silence when in good faith and good conscience I should speak) induce a third person to perform some act or to alter his position for the worse, and a man of ordinary prudence under the same circumstances would have so acted, then I will not be permitted to assert the truth, because it would be a fraud on my part, nor will I be permitted to assert that the facts are other than I represented them to be. An example will clear this up. I loan Frank Jones \$5,000 on his house. I, by my conduct, induce him to believe that Browne is my agent, and that he (Jones) may safely repay the money to him. I will be estopped to deny, as Jones has acted on my representations to his detriment. Again, Smith owns an automobile. Jones, in his presence, offers it for sale, receives the money and walks off with the proceeds. Smith is estopped to deny Jones' authority either to sell the machine or to receive payment. He should have spoken. Here, by keeping silence, he is helping consummate a fraud. He will not be permitted to speak. He is estopped.

A pretty example of this principle is contained in the case of *Merchants' Bank vs. State Bank*, 10 Wallace (U. S.), 604. Here the cashier (Smith) had certified certain checks. The firm issuing these checks failed. They were sued on and the defense was that the cashier had no authority to certify checks. The court decided, in effect, that having placed this official in a position where he appeared to have this authority (the power to certify checks being one of the incidental powers of a cashier),⁴ and the other party, in reliance thereon, having acted to its detriment, the State bank was estopped to deny the authority of its cashier.

Speaking on the question of estoppel, the court on page 645 said as follows:

The rule proceeds upon the consideration that the author of the misfortune shall not himself escape the consequences and cast the burden upon another. Smith was the cashier of the State Bank. As such he approached the Merchants' Bank. The bank did not approach him. Upon the faith of his acts and declarations it parted with its property. The misfortune occurred through him, and as the case appears in the record, upon the plainest principles of justice the loss should fall upon the defendant. The ethics and law of the case alike require this result.

Those who created the trust appointed the trustee and clothed him

⁴ Clark on Corporations, page 483.

with the powers that enabled him to mislead, if there was any misleading, ought to suffer rather than the other party.

In the *Bank of the United States vs. Davis*, Nelson, Chief Justice, said: "The plaintiffs appointed the director and held him out to their customers and the public as entitled to confidence. They placed him in a position where he has been enabled to commit this fraud."

The director had fraudulently appropriated the proceeds of a bill discounted for the drawer. It was held that the drawer was not liable.

The reasoning of Justice Selden in the *Farmers and Mechanics' Bank of Kent county vs. the Butchers and Drovers' Bank* is also strikingly apposite to the case before us. He said: "The bank selects the teller and places him in a position of great responsibility. Persons having no voice in his selection are obliged to deal with the bank through him. If, therefore, while acting in the business of the bank and within the scope of his employment, so far as is known or can be seen by the party dealing with him, he is guilty of misrepresentation, ought not the bank to be responsible?"

It was expressly laid down by Lord Holt in *Hern vs. Nichols*. He said there: "For seeing somebody must be a loser by this deceit, it is more reason that he that employs and puts trust and confidence in the deceiver should be a loser than a stranger." And upon this the plaintiff had a verdict.

Dickerson vs. Colgrove, 100 U. S., 578, 580—The estoppel here relied upon is known as an equitable estoppel, or estoppel in pais. The law upon the subject is well settled. The vital principle is that he who by his language or conduct leads another to do that which he would not otherwise have done shall not subject such person to loss or injury by disappointing the expectations upon which he acted. Such a change of position is sternly forbidden. It involves both fraud and falsehood, and the law abhors both.

People's Bank vs. National Bank, 101 U. S., 181, 183—Where one of two innocent parties must suffer by the wrongful act of a third, he who gave the power to do the wrong must bear the burden of the consequences.

In *Johnson vs. Hurley*, 115 Missouri, 513, the facts are as follows: Hurley bought some land from Johnson through his agent. This agent forged the deed and absconded with the proceeds. The court, in passing upon these facts, on page 520 made the following citation, taken from *Meecham on Agency*:

It may therefore be stated as a general rule that, whenever a person has held another out as his agent, authorized to act for him in a given capacity, or has knowingly and without dissent permitted such other to act as his agent in such capacity, or where his habits and course of dealing have been such as to

reasonably warrant the presumption that such other was his agent authorized to act in that capacity, whether it was a single transaction or a series of transactions, his authority to such other to act for him in that capacity will be conclusively presumed so far as it may be necessary to protect the rights of third persons who have relied thereon in good faith and in the exercise of reasonable prudence, and he will not be permitted to deny such other was his agent, authorized to do the act which he assumed to do, provided that such act was within the real or apparent scope of the presumed authority.

See likewise:

Bush Grocery Co. vs. Conely, 61 Florida, 131, 135.

Haubelt Bros. vs. Pea & Page Mill Co., 77 Missouri Appeals, 672.

Johnston vs. Milwaukee & Wyoming Investment Co., 46 Nebraska, 480, 490.

Holt vs. Schneider, 57 Nebraska, 523.

Faulkner vs. Simms, 68 Nebraska, 295.

Nollinger vs. Fleer, 157 North Carolina, 81.

2 Corpus Juris, 570.

Huffcut on Agency, sec. 102.

It may be insisted that it is absurd to apply the law of estoppel to Jesus Christ. The reader must remember, however, that the whole law of estoppel is founded on justice. As the court said in *Small vs. Houseman*, 208 New York, 115, on page 123: "The question of estoppel is one of ethics and is to be enforced when in good conscience and honest dealing it ought to be." The principal is "estopped" to assert certain rights because it would be unjust for him to do so, because, it would be a fraud upon innocent persons. There is no question that God is infinitely just. He will never cheat or defraud you. Therefore when we speak of estoppel as applied to Jesus Christ, we mean no more than to assert that it is in contravention with one of His divine attributes, that He is infinitely just.

Here Jesus Christ appears to have given His Church certain powers. He has placed her in a position, so far as third persons are concerned, where she has the right to speak for Him, to represent Him. If we act in reliance on His word, as the court of law would express it, He will be estopped to deny that He gave these powers or that His Church is acting in a different manner from that which He intended.

Further, let the reader remember that it was Jesus Christ Himself who chose the Church as His representative. We had nothing to do with it. We do not obey the Church because we elect to do so, but because we are commanded to do so by Jesus Christ. Further than this, He was not obliged to carry on His work through

a Church at all. He could have taught us by means of an angel, had He so elected, or He could have continued to speak in person. He could have written His message in the heavens or He could have written it on tablets and given them to us, just as He gave His commandments to Moses. He chose none of these methods. Instead, He chose His Church to be His living voice, and having so chosen and having given His Church the character of one elected to speak for Him, He will be estopped to deny the authority and the method of its fulfillment in the case of all who relied on His word to their detriment.

Perhaps it may occur to some of our readers to inquire about the Protestant Churches. Are they not likewise the agents of Jesus Christ? Do they not likewise bind Him just as the Catholic Church binds Him? Did not the Protestant Church succeed the Catholic Church when the Catholic Church "went wrong" in the Middle Ages?

So far as the Catholic Church "going wrong" is concerned, we must remember that she is in the service of her principal and not of third persons. For any dereliction of duty the agent is answerable solely to his principal. It is not for third persons to pass judgment upon the manner in which the agent is fulfilling his duties. Try to imagine, if you can, the following: John Brown is an agent of the Standard Oil Company. Frank Smith owns an automobile. He says to himself: "I do not like the way Brown is running his agency. I will go downtown, run him out and take over the duties myself." That is exactly what the so-called reformers did in the Middle Ages. "The Catholic Church is not teaching the Gospel to my liking. I will do it for her." And they have just as much authority to represent Jesus Christ as Frank Smith has to consider himself a representative of the Standard Oil Company.

The reader should remember that there is no such thing as a self-appointed agent.

2 Corpus Juris, 560—It is fundamental in the law of agency that the power of every agent to bind his principal rests upon the authority conferred upon him by the principal.

It is a matter of history when the different Protestant Churches came into existence, and that this happened many centuries after the death of Jesus Christ. They are, therefore obviously without any authority from Him. If Smith claims the right to do certain things because he was authorized by Brown, and that he received this authority in 1919, and we know that Brown died in 1910, it does not take any extended argument to demonstrate just what his claim is worth. The Catholic Church is the only Christian Church

that dates back to Jesus Christ, and she is, therefore, the only Church that is authorized to speak for Him.

As this article deals particularly with the law, we cannot do better than conclude with the following extracts taken from two of the latest and best known legal authorities:

2 Corpus Juris, 562—As a general rule every person who undertakes to deal with an alleged agent is by the mere fact of agency put upon inquiry, and must discover at his peril that it is in its nature and extent sufficient to permit the agent to do the proposed act, and that its source can be traced to the will of the alleged principal.

2 Corpus Juris, 564—If such person makes no inquiry, but chooses to rely on the agent's statements, he is chargeable with knowledge of the agent's authority, and his ignorance of its extent will be no excuse to him, and the fault cannot be thrown upon the principal, who never authorized the act or contract.

Meecham on Agency, second edition, sec. 743—An assumption of authority to act as an agent for another of itself challenges inquiry. Like a railroad crossing, it should be in itself a sign of danger and suggest the duty to "stop, look and listen." It is therefore declared to be a fundamental rule, never to be lost sight of and not easily to be overestimated, that persons dealing with an assumed agent, whether the assumed agent be a general or a special one, are bound at their peril, if they would hold the principal, to ascertain not only the fact of the agency, but the nature and extent of the authority, and in case either is controverted, the burden of proof is on them to establish it.

BLAINE COPPINGER.

Washington, D. C.

THE PASSION IN THE LITTLE HOURS.

(Concluded.)

SATURDAY.

- Prime.* Psalm 93. Two sections. "Deus ultionum Dominus."
 Psalm 107. "Paratum cor meum."
Terce. Psalm 101. "Domine exaudi," in three sections.
Sext. Psalm 103. "Benedic anima mea Domino," in three sections.
None. Psalm 108. "Deus laudem meam," in three sections.

THE psalmody of the Little Hours on Saturday may be regarded almost as a summary or recapitulation of the thoughts already met with in the course of this part of the Office on the other days of the week. "On the seventh day God ended His work which He had made: and He rested on the seventh day from all the works which He had done" (Gen. ii., 2); and as with the great work of Creation, so with the still greater work of Redemption. The "consummatum est" was followed by the Sabbath rest. "Throughout that day," writes Fouard, "what feelings swept over the hearts of the disciples? . . . We might justly confess to a great longing to know something of the conversation of these men after having been so bitterly undeceived, to hear their complaints and sympathize with their passionate regrets. But the Gospel is silent concerning the exceeding wretchedness they must have felt that day, and we are told simply of their fidelity to the Law: 'And on the Sabbath day they rested according to the commandment.' (Luke xxiii., 56.)"

Still we may well imagine them going over in thought again and again the various stages of the Passion; comparing their experiences; pondering in sorrow the downfall of their hopes, and mourning in accents of self-reproach the cowardly desertion of Him to whom they owed the utmost loyalty; by whom they should have stood to the very last: "Quis consurget mihi adversus malignantes? aut quis stabit mecum adversus operantes iniquitatem." . . . "Who shall rise up for Me against the evil-doers, or who shall stand with Me against the workers of iniquity?" (v. 16). We shall find how easy it is, under the shadow of Saturday's psalmody, to unite in spirit with these troubled souls, so full of regrets and compunction.

And the faithful ones also! They, too, had their thoughts, their prayers, their hopes, on that long drawn-out Sabbath. The psalmody for the Little Hours to-day will bring them also into our picture; possibly words from these very psalms would be on their lips. Cer-

tainly as they gazed round the Temple—the veil of which to the consternation of all had been rent in twain—well might they exclaim: “Deus ultionum Dominus.” “The Lord is the God, to whom revenge belongeth; the God of revenge hath acted freely.” The Passion and death of their Master became a new and enlightening commentary on so much that had been but literally true to them hitherto.

And Mary, too; strange lights flash out at intervals which reveal the hidden thoughts of her heart; dark though the hour was for her, she had her moments of consolation: “Consolationes tuae laetificaverunt animam meam”: “according to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, thy comforts have given joy to my soul” (v. 19) . . . “exurge, gloria mea . . . exurgam diluculo”; she, at least, knew that her Son was not to be straitened forever in the cold embrace of the sepulchre; He would “rise early” and she, too, would rise early to meet Him. And Holy Mother Church has her own thoughts on this Sabbath-day. Under her sure guidance, we, too, have our retrospect of the blackness of the hour that is past; but already in these psalms she is anticipating; busy with the thought of the grand Restoration that shall take place on the morrow.

Thus, our “Attente ac devote” is easily secured for this portion of the Office. An atmosphere quite its own hangs over the psalmody. The purple and white of Holy Saturday are easily distinguishable. The night is still there, but dawn is breaking.

The dominant thought in the first psalm of *Prime* is that God will judge and punish the oppressors of the people—wicked rulers who crush the helpless; and this calls forth, as is the Psalmist’s wont, an act of supreme confidence in the nearness of God and the certainty of forthcoming help. It is easy to see how this train of thought fits in with the sorrow-laden reflections of the faithful followers of Christ all through the long day that succeeded the Crucifixion. And so with ourselves. We can stand in spirit at the foot of the Cross; the Divine Victim no longer hangs upon it, for His mangled body lies in the tomb; but all the traces of the dire tragedy are fresh and more startling perhaps than when the tragedy was actually being enacted: three dread crosses standing in bold outline against the sky; the ground saturated with the Blood of the world’s Redeemer; indications at every turn of a violent and infuriated rabble: “They will hunt after the soul of the just, and will condemn innocent blood”: “captabunt in animam justi: et sanguinem innocentem condemnabunt” (v. 21). The words will recall the crime of the traitor: “I have sinned in betraying innocent blood”; as also does the title, “a psalm . . . on the fourth day of the week”; the

day, as some of the commentators remind us, on which Judas betrayed his Master; and they add that in this psalm his punishment is foretold. Certainly this may be one of the thoughts suggested by the psalm; but its scope is wider. The scene on Calvary, with the wreckage of brightest hopes strewn relentlessly on every side, told a story of greater import, and far more embracing than the personal sin and retribution of Judas: "Numquid adhaeret tibi sedes iniquitatis: qui fingis laborem in praecepto." "Doth the seat of iniquity stick to thee, who framest labor in commandment?" *i. e.*, Wilt Thou O God, who art always just, admit of the seat of iniquity, that is, of injustice, or of unjust judges, to 'stick to Thee,' to have any partnership with Thee? Qui fingis, Thou who *framest* or makest labor in commandment, *i. e.*, Thou who dost oblige or command us to labor, to bear the burden of sorrow and suffering, to endure much that is repugnant to human nature: Thou surely wilt not be so hard and unjust as to refuse the "oil of sweet consolation" which softens and soothes; which alone can make endurable the chafing burdens that the unjust at all times put upon the just. "Uness the Lord had been my helper my soul had almost dwelt in hell." The Psalmist is simply forestalling the sentiment of the words, "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and so to enter into His glory?" He is stating a universal principle of God's economy, and we catch the full sense of his words as we gaze upon the Cross. "Now indeed is your hour and the power of darkness." But it is only an hour. "How long shall sinners, O Lord, how long shall sinners glory?" It is a universal fact that iniquity does abound, that apparently it prospers; and the Passion of Christ, His condemnation and death, stand out for all time as the most penetrating presentment of the problem. But "The Lord is the God to whom revenge belongeth. . . . He will render them their iniquity; and in their malice He will destroy them. . . . He will rise up against the evil-doers . . . qui viduam et advenam interfecerunt et pupillos occiderunt . . . qui hereditatem vexaverunt . . . who have slain the widow and the strangers and the fatherless . . . and have afflicted thine inheritance." St. Augustine's commentary enables us to focus these truths very simply: "Because Christ came humble, and in mortal flesh, and to die, not to do as sinners, but to suffer as sinners . . . what did they do? They seized Him, they scourged, mocked, buffeted, besmeared Him with spittle, crowned Him with thorns, lifted Him on the Cross, at last slew Him. And what followed. . . . 'Exaltare qui judicas terram. Be exalted, Thou Judge of the world.' Because they imprisoned Him when humble, thinkest thou they will imprison Him when exalted? Because they judged Him when mortal, will they not be

judged by Him when immortal? . . . They who ought to have seized on Thee with faith, seized Thee with persecution; Thou, then, because Thou hast suffered, *Be exalted*; that is, arise again; depart into heaven." (*In loco.*)

Here then we have a psalm which fits in very well with the pious thought of reciting our Little Hours on Saturday, in prayerful commune with the sorrowing friends of our crucified Lord on that "Great Sabbath Day." Its general characteristic is one of quiet sympathy with the oppressed coupled with a confident expectation of some ultimate joyous revelation of God. One detects in the picture the soft tone of resignation, of quiet tenderness which in spite of much sorrow never darkens to despair. Light there is, but it is subdued; the soul is heavy with grief and cannot yet sing its Jubilate, but help is not far distant, "*Deus meus in adiutorium spei mee.*"

Much the same healthy outlook over the dark seas characterizes the next psalm: "*Paratum cor meum Deus: paratum cor meum.*" Already we have made acquaintance with this psalm in the course of our studies, though under another form. The first five verses are identical with the last five of Psalm lvi. (Wednesday *Sext.*); the last eight verses being almost word for word with the last eight of Psalm lix. (Wednesday *None.*) The devotional application will therefore be more or less the same, with perhaps this slight difference subjectively (*i. e.*, to such as are reciting this part of the Office as suggested, in pious union with the faithful few on that "Great Sabbath Day"), that there is now a more insistent call to look ahead. Victory will come on the very wings of the morn. The force of the enemy is spent, broken to atoms on the rock of Calvary. The torrent of iniquity is fast subsiding; it has reached the high-water level. The agony of retrospect is beginning to dissolve even now into the joy of anticipation. Throughout this psalm the soul of the inspired writer, strong in its conviction of the triumph that must be, seems to wrestle with "tribulation" as with a weaker adversary. "*Nonne tu Deus exibis in virtutibus nostris? Da nobis auxilium in tribulatione quia vana salus hominis*" (v. 13.) His is the warrior's morning song: "*exurgam diluculo*"; I will arise in the morning early. "*In Deo faciemus virtutem,*" Through God we shall do mightily (vv. 2-13). Similarly with the warfare and subsequent triumph of the second David. There is no resisting Him. His conquests will extend beyond the confines of Ephraim and Manasses; beyond the land of Juda even to the "strong cities of Moab and Edom of the Gentiles." From Edom the all-conquering Messias will come, stained with the blood of battle, "*tinctis vestibus de Bosra*"; he will return laden with spoil: "*dilecti laberantur . . .*"

alienigenae amici facti"; His own beloved ones freed from bondage, aliens become His friends (v. 10). He will divide the spoil between them; "convallē tabernaculorum dimetiār" (v. 9). He shall give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance. The "mercy and truth" of God must ultimately prevail (v. 4), and therefore, although the soul is keeping watch by the sepulchre, although the sense of abandonment is if possible keener now than it was; still somehow there is a knocking at the door of the heart, which gets stronger, more persistent and more audible as the darkness of Good Friday recedes and Easter approaches, with the message of Victory. "Ipse ad nihilum reducet inimicos . . . confitebor tibi in populis. . . . I will sing unto Thee among the nations."

TERCE.

Psalm ci., the "Domine exaudi" which comes in *Terce*, is the fifth of the penitential psalms. It bears the following title in the Vulgate: "Oratio pauperis, cum anxius fuerit, et in conspectu Domini effuderit precem suam," which the Douai translation renders "The prayer of the poor man, when he was anxious, and poured out his supplication to the Lord." There are two broad divisions; the first from v. 1 to 12; the second from v. 13 to the end. The former is an earnest, pathetic lament; anguish and sorrow rule; then a sudden transition beginning with the words "Tu autem Domine in æternum permanes"; the Psalmist has a vision of better things; and his earlier pleading plaint passes into a sustained though subdued song of calm confidence for the future, and sweet restfulness in the thought of God's eternal unchangeableness.

Of these two main sections, there are subdivisions: vv. 1-6—the reiterated cry, as of one startled by the sudden imminence of danger: "clamor . . . oratio . . . velociter exaudi . . . inclina"; vv. 7-11—the sense of complete abandonment, "like to a pelican of the wilderness," and the "night-raven" (nycticorax) in the house; *i. e.*, conveying the idea of solitude and darkness; or a kindred thought, "passer solitarius in tecto," for the sparrow having lost its mate, mourns in or near its nest; v. 12 gathers up the anguish and heart-break of the preceding verses in two irresistible similes, two master strokes of the pen, viz.: "umbra declinans" and "foenum arescens." The shadow is but the antithesis of all that is firm and lasting; while the bent or "declining" shadow is even now on its way to destruction, and tells of the near approach of night. The withered grass, cut down by the scythe, or dried up by the sun's scorching rays, tells of a spirit prostrated in grief even to the very earth.

One need only say in passing that the sublime imagery in this part of our psalm is vividly and prophetically applicable to the "Man

of Sorrows." It speaks to the soul like the unveiling of the Crucifix on Good Friday. It tells not merely of physical pain; of enemies "reproaching all the day long"; of the hopelessness of a crowd which could pass with such callous ease from the joyous cries of Hosanna to the strident shout of "Crucifigatur": "they that praised me, did swear against me," "qui laudabant me adversus me jurabant," all this and more. There is agony of heart which is wrong not by personal woe. The anguish here is surely vicarious. The "vox gemitus mei," "the voice of my groaning" (v. 6) recalls the scene at the grave of Lazarus. "Jesus therefore . . . groaned in the spirit and troubled Himself . . . Jesus therefore, again groaning in Himself cometh to the sepulchre" (John v., 36, 38), "groaning," as some think, partly with sorrow, partly with indignation, at the thought of sin and death brought into God's fair world by Satan, the enemy of high-born creatures, made only a little less than the angels; made to the image and likeness of God Himself; "fremens," that is with a shudder or convulsion of horror, for He sees all things so clearly, and hears the never-ending wail of those who have been duped by Satan; and "He Himself bore our sins in His Body on the tree"; He stood even as a solitary reef on a rockbound coast, protecting but unprotected, save by His own innate Divine strength.

The second part of the psalm is cast in a lighter and more hopeful mould. Consolation follows quickly in the wake of desolation. After battling with the raging storm through a jet-black night, with the ever-present peril of shipwreck, the disconsolate mariner sees the dawn break at long last, the horizon becomes clearly visible, and land is in sight. Even so with the Psalmist, as he realizes the near deliverance of his people. "Tu exurgens misereberis Sion. . . . Thou shalt arise and have mercy on Sion; for it is time to have mercy on it, for the time is come" (v. 14).

The sub-divisions to this section are clearly marked. They form a complete and very practical commentary on the "misereberis" of verse 14. First the national deliverance with the subsequent rebuilding of the Temple and the city: "aedificavit Dominus Sion"; then the fear of God's name extending even to Gentiles (vv. 14-18). Generations yet unborn will hear of all these mercies; and "being assembled together," in the Sion of the New Law, with "kings" in their midst, will "serve the Lord" (vv. 15-23). The pledge of all this is that the efficient Cause is none other than the Son of God, of whom the Psalmist writes—as we know from St. Paul (Heb. i.): "In the beginning, O Lord, Thou foundedest the earth; and the heavens are the works of Thy hands. They shall perish, but Thou remainest: and all of them shall grow old like a garment: and as a vesture Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed. But

thou art always the self-same, and Thy years shall not fail" (vv. 26, 27.)

In this psalm, then, we have again the purple and white of Holy Saturday; and even the brief survey we have taken will suffice to show how exceedingly appropriate it is for recitation "in Sabbato": and this, all the more so, if we accept the view that probably the psalm was written towards the close of the captivity, when doubt no longer remained as to the return of the people and their re-instatement in the land of their fathers. Or even if this be taken as a Davidic psalm, the same devotional experience attaches to it, whether he be describing his own personal experience of joyous release after a dark night of suffering and pain, or whether, with prophetic vision he sees and describes the dawn of God's mercy on a recalcitrant people. The subject-matter is much the same in each hypothesis. There has been a period of almost overwhelming sadness in which the spirit has been sorely tried; and as the title suggests, the sorrow and heart-searching have been personal rather than national; the "poor man," anxious and suppliant, is at the foot of the Cross; but his Good Friday is coming to an end. And as he looks away from the Cross, from the long drawn out captivity, a new and brighter prospect opens out before him. The mournful strains with which he began pass through gentle modulations into a brighter key of hope and confidence: "He hath looked forth from His high sanctuary; from heaven the Lord hath looked upon the earth." God has not forsaken; deliverance is at hand. A new nation will declare the name of the Lord in Sion:—the Church to come, which issued from the side of the Redeemer on the Cross:—"a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people, to declare His virtues, who hath called you out of darkness into His admirable light." (I. Peter ii., 9.)

SEXT.

Psalm ciii.—*Benedic anima mea Domino*. One may well imagine that this poetic setting of the first chapter of Genesis, beautifully rounded off as it is, with the thought of God's joy in creation:—"laetabitur Dominus in operibus suis":—found a place among the psalms that were sung in the Temple on the Sabbath day. For our own devotion, we may recite it in company with the Apostles and friends of Him who had been done to death but yesterday; and now lies cold and motionless in the tomb. We may take up the thought already thrown out in *Terce*; where the Psalmist, almost paraphrasing the words, "Per quem omnia facta sunt," shows us how unexpectedly a psalm is found to have a Messianic character "ab Initio tu, Domine, terram fundasti: et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli"
. . . So here. The keynote of our meditation rings out towards

the end, at verse 30: *Emittes spiritum tuum*: "Thou shalt send forth thy spirit . . . and thou shalt renew the face of the earth." The Redemption is a new creation; or a renewal and exaltation of the old. Darkness once again gives way before the light, and death, which had usurped the throne of life, is cast down by Him in whom is all life. In the first creation, winter soon followed on the heels of spring: It was a long winter; but in the new order established by the outpouring of the Precious Blood, fresh forces of life were set in motion; winter passed; there came a second spring:—life emerged out of death. "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission" (Heb. ix., 22); "that which thou sowest is not quickened unless it die first" (I. Cor. xv., 36). In a word, then, our "Saturday" thought when reciting this psalm will have a double facet: death as a vivifying and re-creative action; death as the very cure of death. This is the mystery of the Cross of Christ, "*qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit*"; and the Psalmist is looking towards this happy consummation. Sin is at the root of the mischief. Out of chaos, God had evolved order and design in the physical world: "The mountains ascend and the plains descend in the place which thou hast set for them. . . . He hath made the moon for seasons; the sun knoweth his going down. . . . How great are thy works, O Lord; thou hast made all things in wisdom." All was harmony till sin introduced disorder. Man was the only being "*capabilis exorbitationis*" (Tertullian); and out of his orbit, he strayed. Hence the prophetic prayer of verse 35: "*Deficient peccatores a terra*"; let sinners be consumed out of the earth . . . so that they be no more: O my soul, bless thou the Lord. Let chaos once again be reduced to law and order; let the earth be renewed and purified; let harmony be restored; and as in the first creation "God saw all the things that He had made, and they were very good"; so now, after the "renewal" and restoration, "the Lord shall rejoice in his works." A new Sabbath of creation will dawn; it will be a day of rest and of "delight in the Lord" (v. 34); a new temple will rear its head on the ruins of the old; and the song of praise will never depart from it: "*Cantabo Domino in vita mea: psallam Deo meo quamdiu sum*"; I will sing to the Lord as long as I live: I will sing praise to my God while I have my being. "*Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine . . . benedic anima mea Domino.*"

This renewal or restoration is amply drawn out in the theology of the New Testament; and especially we may turn to the convincing description of the work of Christ as given in the Epistle to the Ephesians. "God hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings . . . in Christ . . . that He might make known unto us the mystery

of His will . . . in the dispensation of the fullness of times, to re-establish all things in Christ, that are in heaven and on earth, in Him." Here is the re-juvenation foretold by the Psalmist. The whole of creation, bound up together and perfected in Christ as its head, is led back in the most perfect manner to God, its first principle, from which sin had partly led it away. "Not by the works of justice which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the laver of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost" (iii., 5). Christ is the crown, the centre and the foundation of a new and higher order of things (vide Wilhelm and Scannel. II., 195):

Thoughts such as these fit in very appositely with the meditations one makes in spirit alongside the sepulchre of our Divine Master. As we look away from the dereliction of Calvary, we soon recognize that brighter hopes have come to the birth. All things are to be restored in Him. The fair face of creation will be renewed and shine with a glory greater even than that which covered it when first it emanated from the omnipotent hand of the Creator.

NONE.

Psalm. cviii.—"Deus laudem ne tacueris."

We have now come to the last psalm of the Little Hours; and as we shall see, it very helpfully touches on many of the points raised in the course of the previous psalmody; summarizing them; bringing them into one small focus, beginning with the iniquity of Judas, and traveling quickly on to the final assurance of God's protecting hand. The summary, as given in our Douai version, is: "David, in the person of Christ, prayeth against his persecutors; more especially the traitor Judas; foretelling and approving his just punishment for his obstinacy in sin and final impenitence." St. Peter is our authority for finding in the psalm an allusion to the traitor-apostle. In Acts i., 15-18 we read: "In those days Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren, said: . . . Men, brethren, the Scripture must be fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost foretold by the mouth of David, concerning Judas, who was the leader of them that apprehended Jesus . . . he indeed hath possessed a field of the reward of iniquity, and being hanged, burst asunder in the midst: and all his bowels gushed out . . . for it is written in the Book of Psalms . . . 'let another take his Bishopric'; "episcopatum ejus accipiat alter" (v. 8.) And not Judas only, but the Jews also who followed his iniquitous lead are probably to be included in the prophet's scathing denunciations. (So St. Augustine and others of the Fathers. Migne, *in loco*.)

This is one of what are known as the "psalms of imprecation" and one has to go by circuitous paths in order to extract devotion

from them. It is quite clear that holy David is not to be credited with the appalling vindictive spirit which at first seems to characterize them. "Memento Domine David et omnis mansuetudinis ejus!" His whole history, in fact, gives the lie to that supposition. One suggestion is that the psalm is to be regarded as a prophecy in the form of a curse; and this has in its favor that though the verbs are in the optative mood in our versions, in the Hebrew they are in the future tense.

Secondly, it has been suggested that these so-called imprecations or curses are to be understood as searching judgments pronounced by the Supreme Judge at the final reckoning. We have a parallel case in the chastisements with which Moses threatens the Israelites if they should ever abandon the law given by God. The imprecatory style is adopted, as if the transgressions had already taken place. The maledictions that occur in our psalm had no real historical fulfillment as far as the enemies of holy David were concerned; hence they can only be regarded as anticipatory judgments or sentences on the traitor in particular, and the Jewish people in general.

It is well to bear in mind also, the genius of the language and the vivid imagery with which ideas are clothed, especially in the psalms. Ideas are dealt with in concrete form; some times in terms of created things, sometimes of everyday experience. Thus, the praises of God are distributed all over the gamut of creation. Sun, moon, stars, things above and below, inanimate and animate, serve as channels through which the Psalmist pours out the rich torrents of his thought; and so here, when announcing the sentence of the Almighty on the workers of iniquity. The imagery will of course be different, though his method will be the same. He views sin through the spectrum of inspiration. He can see it with a thoroughness of which the unaided soul is incapable; and his analysis, in consequence, is searching and penetrating. However exaggerated his language may seem, it falls far below the reality of the evils he has in mind. And so, when he hurls out the terrible words "Diabolus stet a dextris ejus" . . . "oratio ejus fiat in peccatum," it is the expression, as far as vivid language can render the thought, of the unconscionable treason that led to Deicide, as Bellarmine comments: "The devil will be his guide in all his acts, will constantly stand alongside him, or rather will drag him with the chain of avarice, as he would a dog, and excite him to bite his own master" . . . "to which may be added that Judas' prayer was turned to sin because, instead of asking assistance from God, he asked it of the devil, who suggested to him the hanging of himself."

From Judas, the Psalmist passes on to some of the stages of the Passion; of which, as we have said, there is almost a summary.

"*Libera me quia egenus et pauper ego sum; cor meum conturbatum est intra me.*" "Do thou deliver me, for I am poor and needy, and my heart is troubled within me." The words of our Lord just before His Passion will come to mind; "Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour" (John xii., 27); or again, the anguish of soul in the garden: "My soul is sorrowful even unto death." In the next verse, 23, "*Sicut umbra declinat, ablatus sum*" commentators see an allusion to the capture of Our Lord after the prayer in the garden. He is torn away from His disciples, led captive, brought before the various tribunals: all in profound silence, even as "the shadow when it declineth" on the western slopes of Olivet; fading away quickly till caught up at length and snatched away by the oncoming gloom. Then the Psalmist follows the Man of Sorrows through the darkness; he sees Him bandied about from one place to another; hurried from this tribunal to that:—"excussus sicut locustae." The figure here is very telling. The locust has no command over the direction of its flight; it must needs travel at the mercy of the wind. If a sudden gust arises it is tossed about in the most hopeless manner; sometimes whirled round and round by circular air-currents without any chance of extrication. This is a graphic description of what the Son of God allowed Himself to experience all through His Sacred Passion. He becomes the sport of slander, cruelty and inhuman tyranny; receiving no more consideration than the vilest insect.

Having alluded to the agony of soul—*cor conturbatum*—the Psalmist tells of the physical strain: "*Genua infirmata . . . caro immutata propter oleum*": a curious phrase at first sight; "my flesh is changed for oil," which Bellarmine expounds: "My whole person is changed in color and bulk, by reason of the loss of the natural fat or oil, necessary to support it; for 'though the life of Christ was one continual fast, He must have felt His weakness especially at that time.'"

Another rapid stroke of the pen outlines Calvary:—"factus sum opprobrium; viderunt me . . . moverunt capita sua" (v. 25). There is the ignominy of crucifixion; the studied insult of associating Him with two felons; He becomes the butt of ribald jests ("they shook their heads"); as though words were not sufficient expression of their scorn.

And now the Psalmist looks ahead. "*Adjuva me . . . saluum me fac.*" The prayer of Christ is heard. In His departure from this life, He prays to His Father for a speedy resurrection. The chalice of suffering has been filled to the brim; it has overflowed; the Redeemer of the world has drunk it even to the dregs: "*Consummatum*

est." But let the world know that His was a purely voluntary sacrifice. "Sciant quia manus tua haec; tu Domine fecisti eam." . . . Neither Jews nor Gentiles could prevail over Christ, could persecute or put Him to death had not God so wished it. "Oblatus est quia ipse voluit." "They who sow in tears will reap in joy"; "Servus tuus laetabitur." He will pass safely through the terrors of the night and witness the dawn of another day, even the day of the resurrection. Conversely, the enemies of the Cross have had their hour, their day, and now will pass into the confusion of darkest night:—clothed with shame, covered with their confusion as with a double cloak; "Induantur pudore . . . operiantur sicut diploide confusione sua" (v. 29). Hitherto they have walked abroad unblushingly, making no secret of their wickedness; but where sin is the underclothing shame will soon be the outer vesture. He who is judged and sentenced, will become Judge, and with the searchlight of justice will force men to see and acknowledge, however tardily, the foul conceits of their malicious hearts. Then will the hymn of praise ascend from the lips of the Redeemer as he begins His new and glorified life, speaking both for Himself and for the children of the new-found kingdom: "Confitebor Domino nimis in ore meo"—"I will give great thanks to the Lord with my mouth; and in the midst of many I will praise him"; and lest one should be tempted to forget even for a moment that God is our stay and our solace in the dark hour of tribulation, he closes with the assurance "astitit a dextris pauperis, ut salvam faceret animam meam" (v. 31). In verse 7 the devil was represented as standing at the right hand of Judas to urge and help him in the furtherance of his traitorous design. Now by way of intense contrast God is pictured by the side of the weak at the right hand of the defenseless to protect him.

Thus, the last of the Little Hours on Saturday leaves us as it should, full of confidence and prayerful expectancy. With Christ we have traveled along the way of the Cross. We have tried to learn something of His Sacred Passion as told in melodious strains by Prophet and Psalmist. We have traveled along many avenues of prophecy, all leading to the open sunlight. "Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat." Our knowledge of the sufferings of our Divine Redeemer does not depend solely on the narratives of the four Evangelists. In fact, as Bellarmine writes (on Psalm lxxviii., v. 1). "The history of the Passion . . . in the Gospel, takes very little notice of the intensity of His sufferings, because the Evangelists wished to show that it was quite voluntary, and borne with the greatest fortitude. But, as it was right that the world should know that the sufferings of Christ were intense beyond measure, and learn

thence the extent of their debt to the Redeemer, the Holy Ghost was pleased to reveal the intensity of His sufferings, long before, to the Prophets. . . . Isaias, therefore, wrote much about them, so did Jeremias, but none more than David."

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EMOTIONAL BIOLOGY.

SURELY on a scientific subject such as Biology the emotional aspect should not loom up large in any discussion, yet any one taking the trouble to read the hundred or more reviews appearing in various journals of such a volume as Dr. Nicolai's "The Biology of War,"¹ will find that scientific and literary writers on both sides of the ocean seem to be solely and only interested in trying to bolster up their respective points of view, without any regard whatever for what the author of the book reviewed was attempting to present. This is as true where ten and eleven pages are given to the subject as where the book is merely mentioned. *Not in one single instance coming under the writer's notice was it found that the reviewer even touched upon the vital part of the book.* All admissions made by Nicolai that Germany was responsible for the war are sought out with avidity and heralded with acclaim, but neither in Europe nor America did any reviewer, in so far as these reviews have come under the eye of the writer, even mention the main point of the book—the point towards which all the evidence leads and for which the evidence contained in the book was presented.

It is worthy of note that *the reaction against neo-Darwinism "springs from the heart"* rather than from any scientific reasoning, and that it is biologists who are bringing the heart back into their scheme of humanity. Quoting from Professor Cole:²

Our first revolt against it [neo-Darwinism] *is from the heart rather than the head.* It violates all our ideas of right and justice and humanity, but the German philosophy has no room for dictates of the heart where the State is concerned. All principles of right and justice and of fairness are subordinated to the simple power of might when it is a question of the German Government against any other people. This is simply the working out between nations of the primary law of natural selection.

Probably in no case does the old conflict between love and duty, between emotion and science, come forth to so considerable an extent as in instances of this kind. Many not only German thinkers, but thinkers from all parts of the world, have passed from this mortal sphere without ever being able to reconcile these two opposing factors in life. And it seems to the writer that a lesson of great importance for America, and American universities especially, can be drawn from this statement of Professor Cole, coupled with the knowledge that neo-Darwinism was constantly taught in the Ger-

¹ "The Biology of War," by G. F. Nicolai, New York.

² "Biological Philosophy and the War," Professor Leon J. Cole, University of Wisconsin: "Scientific Monthly," March, 1919.

man universities. Our university system is built upon German ideals. German ideas and German philosophies were taught in our schools. Some of our ablest men received their training in German universities under German men, *but* it must never be forgotten that our saving grace consists in the fact that *we are seldom consistent in this great land of ours. But if we are inconsistent we are not scientific!* So where do we stand? It is no mere coincidence that the rocking chair, chewing gum and the jazz band were born in America. Our philosophy of life is *Action* spelled with a large "A." We are not interested in destination. We are like gypsies traveling along, interested only in the fact that we are *moving*. But there is a natural corollary here that works out bad in the end for ourselves, in that while it trains men and women in our high schools, our colleges and universities to go out and teach a definite thing known as science, it does not intermingle this science sufficiently with the individual to make it an actual life-philosophy. Our people, having had little philosophical training to begin with, over-emphasize observation. The average student has a vast accumulation of unrelated facts, and is consequently unable to connect them and make a homogeneous whole that he can apply to himself. The result? The same teacher, during five days of the week, may tell his pupils that the earth has been in existence some hundreds of thousands of years, and then, teaching Sunday school one day out of seven, he tries to adjust this version with the Scriptural idea of some five or six thousand years having elapsed since the beginning of things as they are now. The *average* boy or girl in such a teacher's class would probably not note the inconsistency. The teacher himself in all probability does not know it, *but here and there a bright student arises, notes this inconsistency, makes it part of his life, and seeing no consistency between the only ethics he knows—the ethics obtained from the Bible—and the "facts" obtained from his scientific training, consistently becomes inconsistent, or hypocritical.*

Is it any wonder that so many of our business men use the statement that they "believe in honesty because it is the best policy?" ment that they "believe in honesty because it is the best policy"? and were it more profitable not to be honest, they would not be honest. Our school-sciences—and this is especially true of biology—have been removed almost totally from the many other necessary studies that must be known to make one's ideas of life actual and true. Lacking the necessary philosophical background, students are turned out whose training may be summed up by one of their remarks: "I may not be moral, but I know I am hygienic." Dr.

Nicolai has caught the spirit of this lack of a definite standard of morals and has tried to show that there is an actual physical basis for a definite and absolute morality to be found in the study of biology. It might justly be said that a man would be a fool to waste his time with anything ethical at all if there were no foundation for this in his very make-up. It must be made clear to the student that if any ethical laws exist at all they exist because they are part and parcel of his very nature—of the bone and marrow of his body. This is why *normal men of all time* always have come and always must come to the same conclusion from the same facts if they study the underlying natural laws, and base logical conclusions upon them.

It is, of course, true, as Professor Joseph Jastrow has pointed out, that many an individual is not particularly interested in the *logic of things*, but *desires only a dramatic sensation*, considering this the actual fulfillment of all that which life holds valuable to him. For these men one might quote such statements as the following, appearing in our leading scientific journal:³

As to morals, there is no dispute among civilized peoples generally in all parts of the world. Honesty, truthfulness, mercy, forgiveness, unselfishness, restraint of passion, honoring parents—"these and a few others," as Buckle truly said, "have been known for thousands of years, and not one jot nor tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies and textbooks which moralists and theologians have been able to produce." There could be no objection, of course, to their being taught in the schools if it were deemed necessary—taught directly, not for the subterfuge that they could only come from a religious act and, therefore, it is necessary to teach religion.

Here is one who seeks dramatic satisfaction, *i. e.*, these things have always been, and ever will be. He cares never a whit about the "why" of it all. He *feels* it to be true. One would have expected a scientist at least to have demanded a natural underlying reason for these things and not expected him to accept anything simply because it always had been accepted. Yet this is a point of view frequently met with in the scientific world, and interesting only in so far as it throws light upon the temperamental make-up of the individual producing it. If any one ever attempted to teach morals, or ethics, or anything else upon a basis of this kind, it would seem that he had taken something that most men held, without proof, and then by a mere series of instructions, again without any evidence for such instructions, the student would be told that he should do certain acts and leave other acts undone simply because

³ Henry K. White, in "Science," pp. 722-723, May 15, 1914.

it always has been so done. Surely this can be called neither scientific nor philosophical. In fact, even if it should be demonstrated to the student that there is a valid reason for his doing or leaving undone certain acts, it *would only furnish a motive*. There never could be any *obligation* under such circumstances. That this emotionalism is creeping into everything that has been written on biological and scientific lines during the war is observed by what Professor Franklin H. Giddings⁴ says in his review of Dr. Nicolai's book, that "the author is metaphysical and not scientific, if by a scientific notion of causation we understand a sense of the relative dynamic values of the factors of a situation."

Dr. Nicolai would be shocked were we to explain physiological fatigue in terms of good or bad intention, yet it is in such terms that he talks about the problem of war. No great harm in that, perhaps, if one is admittedly talking idealism, poetical, sentimental or speculative, but there is great harm in it when one is professedly talking physical science, as Dr. Nicolai thinks he is, since he calls his treatise "The Biology of War." If we are talking in terms of dynamic values and prefer not to talk nonsense we must say that war *will end when the sum of the measurable energies that make for peace exceeds the sum of the measurable energies that make for war*. Mankind did not abandon cannibalism because mankind developed a moral sentiment repugnant to a diet of human flesh. Cannibalism was abandoned because somebody invented a hoe and then a plow. Chattel slavery was not abolished because humanitarianism abhorred it. It was abolished when the invention of the steam engine made it possible to sustain civilization without slavery. Modern democracy did not come into existence because the European war lords became interested in the brotherhood of man. It came into existence because geographical discovery and exploration opened up the Western Hemisphere into which men could flow, and where, by their independent efforts, they could lead independent, self-reliant lives. Wars may cease when a way is found to make food and clothing so abundant that men would no more think of fighting for their respective shares than they think of fighting for atmospheric air under ordinary conditions. That day will not come, however, if with material abundance the human race increases in numbers until twenty million individuals dwell on each square kilometer instead of only eleven as now, and Dr. Nicolai gently remarks this number of human beings is attainable.

Apparently, then, there are no reasons for fighting at any time but food, clothes, land tools and other things that produce food. No men or women have ever gone forth to fight, or given their lives for ideals, for religion and those they loved! We have here

⁴ Review of Professor Nicolai's book, by Franklin H. Giddings, in "Political Science Quarterly," March, 1919.

the *temperamental economist*. For, just as any conversation and any books Socialists hold or write insist upon considering man merely as an economic animal, so some of our professors seem unable to get away from a similar one-sided and almost monomaniacal point of view. This is again shown in a review of P. Chalmers Mitchell's book, "Evolution and the War,"⁵ in which this English zoölogist well shows the fallacy of neo-Darwinism. The "Saturday Review,"⁶ however, said: "The truth is that Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, like many a man of his type, has rambled from objective observation to a dreamland of sentiment." This same little volume reviewed in France has brought forth some very interesting approbations, objections and condemnation. But in each case it will be noticed from the wording itself that there is a decided temperamental or emotional make-up of the writers which forms the all-powerful inducing factor which leads them to say whatever they do.

Professor Etienne Rabaud,⁷ of the Sorbonne, in Paris, while supporting Dr. Mitchell's main argument, objects, however:

According to Chalmers Mitchell, man differs too greatly from animals to make analogous conclusions legitimate; man possesses conscience and liberty, he knows the moral law whereby he is radically separated from all animals. In uttering this peremptory affirmative the English zoölogist ceases to reason scientifically. To endeavor to separate from the metaphysical and sentimental points of view organisms which one is obliged to assimilate from the biologic point of view is a rather vain undertaking.

Dr. Grasset, of the faculty of medicine of the University of Montpellier, enters the justing arena with these well-chosen words:

Without "ceasing to reason scientifically," without adopting "the sentimental and metaphysical point of view," one may declare that man—a fixed species for a very great number of centuries—presents characteristics so specific (notably from a psychical point of view) that he should rationally be made the subject of a separate science, not to be confounded either with physico-chemistry (the science of inorganic bodies), nor even with general biology (the science of all living creatures). The science of man, or human biology, should be regarded as a true science, positive and experimental, distinct from all others.

It must be emphasized primarily that human biology studies—and studies exclusively—man as a fixed species for a great number of centuries. No one disputes the importance of the question of the origin of species, and of the human species in particular . . . but the fixity of the human species is ancient

⁵ "Evolution and the War," by P. Chalmers Mitchell, London and New York.

⁶ Review of Dr. Mitchell's book in "Saturday Review," May 29, 1915.

⁷ Translation and excerpts from the original French article published under "Human Biology and War" in "Scientific American" Supplement, May 5, 1917, p. 274.

enough to be accepted scientifically as a fact, capable of serving as a point of departure for a special study: the study of man such as he has been for centuries entirely apart from hypothesis as to his origin and as to his destiny after death.

The method in human biology is positive and experimental, as in all sciences. But this method, when applied to man, must be both objective and subjective. Biologists generally refuse to employ the method of subjective observation because they fear it will be extended to the lower animals . . . but this anthropomorphic error is not to be feared in a science which confines itself entirely to man. . . . The method in human biology must also be physiopathologic, *i. e.*, its object must be the living man whether well or ill. . . .

All contemporaneous philosophy has been led astray by the researches upon the evolution of species. Instead of pursuing the study of man as a fixed species, an effort has been made to relate all human phenomena by insensible transitions to the phenomena presented by all other living beings down to species entirely inferior, or even to the physico-chemical characteristics of inorganic substances.

Without doubt comparative biology should not be neglected by the human physiologist; it yields valuable information upon certain functions (digestive, respiratory, nutritive); but as concerns psychic functions (essential and characteristic of man), it can have only a secondary interest. In any case, the laws of human biology must concern man alone, and the human biologist guards himself as carefully against the amibomorphic error as the general biologist guards himself against the anthropomorphic error. . . . In the second place, the object of study should be not merely man; but the living man. All authorities are increasingly convinced that the science of man should be oriented toward the physiologic aspect, rather than the anatomical aspect, as a basis of study.

There are morphologic analogies which indicate the assimilation of all living creatures in a continuous series from the amœba to mankind; but there are, on the other hand, characteristics of function, and particularly of psychic functions which are specific to man, making of him a distinct organism. Anatomically, the brain of man closely resembles that of the ape, of the sheep, and of many other animals, while its functioning is absolutely different from that of even the most closely related of these. The brain of man is defined by its function. Man is defined by his psychic functions.

Finally, it is man in both good health and ill that is the subject of study. . . . The two domains of health and malady complete and illuminate each other. . . . Hence, the method in human biology must be physiopathologic. Human biology is intimately involved with physiopathology, *i. e.*, with medicine, a fact which gives to physicians a competence in this science which they do not possess in general biology. . . . The subject matter of human biology is to be considered under the

three heads: Physico-chemical laws, biologic laws, human laws. The latter are to be deduced from the positive knowledge and the scientific analysis of the diverse functions of man, and especially of the psychic functions. It is, in fact, this last function which is specifically characteristic of man . . . and the two qualities which suffice to establish a fundamental distinction between man and all other living creatures are intellectual superiority and the faculty of indefinite progress.

The first is well demonstrated by man's intellectual mastery of the universe, despite his evident inferiority from all other points of view. This psychic superiority is, and has always been, an essential element of man. The faculty of indefinite progress consists essentially in the faculty possessed by the psychism of man to accumulate and utilize the psychic discoveries and acquisitions of anterior generations. It is this characteristic which renders science possible. From the discovery of the method of producing and conserving fire to the day of Pasteur all knowledge is linked in the progressive construction of science; all new discoveries are conditioned by the preceding.

As in all fixed species the organs do not change nor improve, but psychic progress is continuous and indefinite, if not in the individual, at least in human society.

From these two specific characteristics of man it can be deduced that there are specifically human biologic laws. Like all other living creatures man must sustain, defend and transmit his individual life in order to sustain and defend the life of his species. But as the life of the human species involves not a stationary maintenance of the ancient rules of former generations (as among ants and bees), but continuous and indefinite psychic progress, the human individual must also collaborate as best he can in the indefinite psychic progress which is the biologic law peculiar to humanity, either by his personal labors, or by aiding other men in their personal labor for the progress of humanity. This is the law of the personal participation of each human individual in the life of the continuous and indefinite psychic progress of humanity.

Not only does human biology thus show that its laws are different from the biologic laws of other animals, but it demonstrates also, quite as positively and scientifically, that the reactions of man to biologic laws are likewise different from the reactions of other animals. All living creatures which have psychic neurons execute acts which are not an immediate response to the provoking stimulus, but are truly psychic, acts of volition.

But the act of volition of man differs from that of the superior animals in a very important characteristic: while in the animal all acts are the direct and necessary result of its constitution and its automatism reacting on its external environment, there appears in man, on the contrary, in his acts of reflection and will, a very special contingency, a direct intervention of the individual exerting his will, which prevents the prediction of the act of a

man as one predicts the acts of animals. It is this, specific of man, which we designate liberty, or freedom to act.

In other terms, the animal renders fatal obedience to the biologic laws of his species, while man obeys them only if and when he will. . . . This, however, does not prevent man from being the subject of positive science; there is a certain determinism in man as in other creatures, only his is a determinism in which there powerfully intervenes the personal and peculiar psychic activity of the volition neuron which decides it. Among the factors of the human act there intervenes the intelligent, sensitive, free, enlightened will of the subject.

From the preceding it results that for man not only are the biologic laws entirely different, but also they provoke in him entirely different reactions from those of other creatures. Thus we perceive that man is the subject of a separate science: human biology.

This science proves primarily, as a fact, without discussion of the origin, the existence among all men of the idea-laws of reasoning and the idea-laws of human conduct; the principle of causality or sufficient reason, the idea of good and evil, of moral obligation and the duty of doing good and avoiding evil, or the right to do one's duty, of responsibility—metaphysical ideas, non-experimental of origin, conditions of all human reasoning and of general human conduct. Then human biology discovers experimentally other idea-laws, whose nature and expression it develops in the same degree that it itself develops: these are the laws of human biologic finality.

The idea-laws of the first group are not only universal and necessary, but superior and anterior to experience; non-experimental and consequently eternal and immutable. Those of the second group are, on the contrary, general and experimental, and therefore variable and perfectible as the science which establishes them. The first, constituted of a fixed element as old as humanity itself; the last, on the contrary, are a new and changing element.

In combining the idea-laws of these two groups . . . the human biologist succeeds—exclusively by positive scientific methods—in erecting a biologic sociology and morale, which, based on human biology, are not open to the objections offered to moral and social sciences based on general biology.

It will now be clear how we arrive by our own route at conclusions very analogous to those of Chalmers Mitchell . . . it is not the general biologic law of struggle, battle, the victory of the strong, which should be applied to man; it is the law of progress, mutual love and help, collaboration and emulation. And I believe like Chalmers Mitchell, and unlike Rabaud, that these conclusions can be reached without ceasing to reason scientifically. . . . The moral and social sciences, based thus upon a positive science, take on a new and considerable solidity, and must impose themselves with absolute authority not only upon all human societies (whose egoism no longer takes the place

of law and principle), upon all nations (who must no longer let might supplant right). For human biology enjoins international morality as well as individual morality, interindividual and social morality, for times of peace and times of war.

Whatever his religion or philosophy, each must bow, freely but obligatorily, before the laws of human conduct as before the laws of human reason—laws promulgated in the name of positive science, that is, of the only authority which is to-day undisputed.

We have quoted Dr. Grasset at length because he seems to have struck a happy note in his discussion, correctly showing what must be taken into consideration in any scheme of humanity. Now, Dr. Nicolai, in his interesting volume, goes further. He is the only other one of all the writers on biology and war who has really struck the underlying thing of importance, although we can see no reason for his belief that mankind will follow along a given pathway simply because it may be correct to do so, or simply because it has factual evidence to support it. He is making the same mistake that has been made so frequently in generations past, of laying all his stress upon the physical side, and believing that the intellectual, mental, moral and emotional life of an individual can be controlled entirely by the physical. In this he is just as radical as the Christian Scientist who insists that the physical has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the thing.

He calls our attention, and that very interestingly, to the theory of Professor August Weismann, by which we can demonstrate that the reproductive cells in every individual come into existence by mere splitting in two of the ancestral reproductive cells, each sex cell thus being its own ancestor. This means that each and every one of us has within our body those reproductive cells which in turn produce the reproductive cell of our offspring and the reproductive cells we have now present in our bodies are an actual living portion of the first human male and female that ever lived. Because this can be scientifically demonstrated, and is accepted by all biologists, it is comparatively easy to find a definite natural groundwork for a common humanity. For, each and every human being having a part of this reproductive mother-plasm or germ-plasm actually present in him now which actually existed in the first human couple that ever lived, there is found the first factually demonstrable basis for a common humanity we have ever known. To the scientifically trained mind this illustrates why it is that all living beings of the same species respond more or less alike to similar stimuli, why it is that we feel similar pain and similar sorrow—in fact, why it is that human beings actually possess a common humanity.

Both books mentioned have been sufficiently reviewed, if mere column space is to be our criterion. Most reviewers have spoken quite well of the volumes, but it is little science and still less philosophy that enters into most of their discussions, while emotion ranks high. As to the value of such reviews, it is sufficient to recall that not one of them coming under the writer's eye discussed the great thing which Dr. Nicolai was attempting to show: *i. e., finding a definite physical something upon which to build a complete and absolute standard of morality.* Or, to quote Dr. Nicolai himself, "unless a right is eternally right," that is unless a *right is absolute* "there is no such thing as right at all," a statement made by Socrates some time before. We will let Dr. Nicolai speak for himself:

If it were desired to found a religion which is, so to speak, unchangeable in its eternal youth and yet capable of modification, so as to meet the needs of mankind, then it must be based on something unchangeable, and yet capable of change.

Though there is nothing absolute in itself, humanity is sufficiently absolute and mutable for our purpose. For it is evolving and has evolved in a course and direction which may be chance, but which has been fixed once for all. We were animals, and we became human beings, and the human beings of to-morrow is something different from the human being of to-day, albeit the one may be potentially contained in the other (p. 549).⁸

It is idle to speculate whether this evolution is good. It is a fact, and therefore to oppose it is folly, and it might even be said, criminal. Animals and man, and in the future the superman, are all one, only united by time.

The superman will unite in himself all actually living human beings, as the totality of mankind in short. Thus we have unity in space. So humanity is both real and ideal at the same time.

Though attempting to prove that humanity is objectively a reality, for us it is an idea, for as we are only a part of it both as regards time and space, we do not possess the necessary organs to enable us fully to comprehend it. For us it remains the idea of a perfecting progress which, taken as a whole, effects on a

⁸ All pages mentioned henceforth refer to Nicolai's "The Biology of War." It will be noted that Dr. Nicolai is "heavy" on the emotional side of his subject in that he forgets his other sciences while discussing biology. His high-school physics told him that nothing can have more in it physically than was originally put therein, and even a little loss must then be allowed for. Starting, therefore, with nothing but the chromosome material as a basis, it must necessarily follow that nothing greater can come forth from man as man than man himself. In fact, as Professor Bateson in his presidential address to the British Association in 1914 pointed out, the first living cell, by virtue of the fact that it possessed the potentiality of becoming a "highly complex" organism must by that fact be more complex itself than that which we have been considering the "complex" itself. It is difficult, therefore, to see how any advance could have been made to begin with from the first living cell; and second, to understand how the "superman" is to come into existence. It may be added that the statements which the German physiologist makes so emphatically may even be questioned on a factual basis in addition to an interpretational one.

large scale "what the best human being does or would fain do on a small scale."

This humanity fulfills all the conditions for the basis of a lasting religion (p. 550).

To be humane, however, simply means that we have comprehended the history of the evolution of mankind; that we know whence we come; that we have an inkling of whither we are going, and that we are accordingly trying to conform to the general scheme of nature, which for us means the progress of human evolution. We believe in this progress of evolution; we love mankind, and we hope for further progress; in other words for the superman who is daily and hourly slowly coming into being. This recognition of self-evident facts embraces every moral law. Were we to express the Ten Commandments in accordance therewith, they would read somewhat as follows:

1. There is no morality without belief in the superman.
2. Thou shalt not try to believe in anything of which thou knowest that it has no real existence. As nothing superhuman really exists except the community of mankind, let thy morality be based on this.
3. Inwardly to realize that mankind as a whole is a reality, means feeling thyself bound up with this world, means having religion and means loving thy neighbor.
4. The forms and symbols of the community of mankind—thy family and thy country.
5. Human life and the life of mankind.
6. Good traditions, instincts which no longer serve a purpose.
7. Labor.
8. Truth.
- 9-10. Oppose evil traditions, instincts which no longer serve a purpose.

How we formulate our morality, however, is no matter. All we must do is to think of ourselves and realize that man is an individual unit and yet a part of a superordinate organism. Whoever knows and feels all this is a truly civilized human being, and it is only when men know that a sword has neither part nor lot in the conception of mankind, but is merely a tool to be laid aside like any other, that war will cease. (pp. 551-553.)

But these rules, like all others built upon only the physical, and holding man as man sufficient to raise himself above himself—that is, without taking *realism* into consideration, no matter how interesting, no matter how ingenuous or clever the ideas presented may be, leave us cold and stolid, and we are absolutely convinced that not one single human being will either perform an act or leave an act unperformed because of this chromosome material that he has in common with all his fellow-men. Accepting all that Dr. Nicolai says as true, what does he do but furnish a motive? Where is the obligation to follow that motive?

THE STARS OF GOD.

"Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these things: who bringeth out their host by number, and calleth them all by their names: by the greatness of His might and strength and power, not one of them was missing."—Isaias xl., 26.

FOR centuries, astronomy has been deservedly known as the "devout science," the sublimity of whose subject matter could not fail to raise the mind of simple and learned alike to reverent thought of an Almighty Creator. Before the magnificence of that starry universe whose countless orbs seemed strewn with lavish hand through all but fathomless depths of space imagination stood spellbound! Poet, theologian and scientist here met on common ground, to exalt the greatness of Him who called into being this galaxy of worlds, "who spoke and they were made, who commanded and they were created." Of its glories, Young wrote in that sublime and oft-quoted passage of his "Night Thoughts":

"Night grants thee the full freedom of the skies
One sun by day, by night ten thousand shine,
And light us deep into the Deity.
How boundless in magnificence and might!

* * * * *

Who sees it unexalted or unawed?
Who sees it and can stop at what is seen?
Material offspring of Omnipotence
Inanimate, all animating birth!
Work worthy Him who made it! Worthy praise,
All praise! . . . Not alone I wake
Bright legions swarm unseen, and sing unheard
By mortal ear, the glorious Architect
In this His universal temple, hung
With innumerable lights
That shed religion on the soul. Oh how loud
It calls devotion, genuine growth of Night!
Devotion, daughter of Astronomy!
An undevout astronomer is mad."

Not Young only, but a long array of poets, and above all, the inspired writers of Scripture have, with one consentient voice, echoed the same testimony as to the witness of the stars to their

Creator's handiwork. Yet, notwithstanding their declarations, an undevout, if not definitely skeptical spirit, seems slowly creeping over—we will not say the master minds of astronomic thought, its giants of mathematical or astrophysical investigation—but over that middle world of astronomic research whose representatives stand before the popular mind as the spokesmen of their science, the interpreters of its latest discoveries. To such as these the reverent attitude portrayed by Young, not yet two hundred years ago, would seem strangely foreign. "The subject with which I am about to deal," writes the late (and undoubtedly eminent) English astronomer, Richard Proctor, "is associated by many with questions of religion. Let me promise, however, that I do not thus view it myself. It seems to me impossible to obtain from science any clear ideas as to the ways or nature of the Deity, or even respecting the reality of an Almighty, personal God. Science deals with the finite, though it may carry our thoughts to the Infinite. Infinity of space, and of matter occupying space; of time, and of the processes with which time is occupied, and infinity of energy, as necessarily implied by the infinities of matter and of the operations affecting matter—these infinities science brings clearly before us. . . . But science tells us nothing of the infinite attributes of an Almighty Being: it presents to us no personal infinities, whether of power, beneficence or wisdom. Science may suggest some ideas on these points, though we perceive daily, more and more, how unsafe it is to accept as her teaching ideas which commonly derive their coloring from our own prepossessions: and, assuredly, as respects actual facts, science, in so far as she presents personal Infinity to us at all, presents it as an inconceivable, like those other inconceivable infinities with whose corresponding finites her operations are alone directly concerned. To speak in plain terms, so far as science is concerned, the idea of a personal God is inconceivable, as are all the attributes which religion recognizes in such a Being."¹ To be strictly just, we must add here, as Mr. Proctor himself adds, that he does not intend to say science disproves the Divine Existence, but simply that it gives no hint of it. For him the stars are *not*, as in Addison's "Hymn to the Creation":

"Forever singing as they shine,
The Hand that made us is Divine."

On the contrary, they are silent, voiceless, mute, giving no clue to their Creator or His attributes. Another writer, after recounting

¹ Essay on "Past and Future of Our Earth," from "Our Place Among Infinities." These words from Professor Proctor's lips are all the sadder, in that his earlier works were much more religious in tone.

man's astronomical achievements, sadly adds, respecting man himself: "Why man was placed here, or whither he goes, who can tell? In spite of his insignificance and impotence, he has gazed into space and explored starry regions. He has discovered many mysteries and solved many riddles. But the First Cause and the final consummation remain unrevealed to his intellect, and so,

'There is a door, to which he finds no key,
There is a veil, through which he cannot see.'

Through infinite space he whirls, in complex, spiral motion, at thirty miles per second, speeding on and on, until his days are ended: like the poor player upon the stage, he struts and frets until his part is done. 'He dieth and wasteth away, yea, man giveth up the ghost and where is he?'"² Other writers might be quoted who speak in tones of positive hostility to revealed religion. To what shall we attribute this change of attitude? We might indeed ascribe it to the general materialistic tendency of the age, to the spirit of agnosticism, more or less prevalent in all fields of scientific research, but in regard to modern astronomy, there seems a special crux, or stumbling block to faith, in the theory, as set forth by certain astronomers, of an infinite universe, that is to say, an infinite plurality of worlds, extending throughout infinite space, in endless succession. To some minds, such a conception presents itself as a "scientific necessity," yet appears incompatible with the Scriptural account of creation, or, indeed, with any theory of creation, strictly so called, since, it is argued, an infinite plurality of worlds could neither have been called into being nor completed in finite time. The way is thus opened for a return to the old Greek conception of matter as eternal, self-subsisting, in a state of perpetual "flux," or change, "one perpetual round of upbuilding and decay." Thus the very grandeur of the visible heavens has been turned into an argument against the existence of a Creator.

The conception of an infinitude of worlds is not a new one. It has been approached by skeptic and believer alike. It may conceivably be read into the writings of so devout a churchman as Cardinal Nicholas Von Cusa,³ and is presented to us almost as a religious meditation in Jean Paul Richter's dream of an angel's flight through space. But it was first made prominent in an irreligious sense by Giordano Bruno, who used it as the vehicle of a gross pantheism. His arguments in its behalf were purely metaphysical,

² C. M. Kilby. "Man and the Universe." *Popular Astronomy*: January, 1917.

³ See Dreyer: "Planetary Systems"; also Cusa's "Docta Ignorantia," Bks. II. and XII.

for Bruno, despite his enthusiasm for the Copernican system, was no astronomer, nor indeed were astronomic data, on which to base such a theory, available in his time. How far modern advocates of an infinite plurality of worlds have been, in any direct sense, influenced by Bruno's views, is doubtful. His works are little read, being rare and difficult to obtain. They have never been translated into English and would scarcely appeal to the modern, scientific mind. Indeed, had it not been for the action of the Italian government, some thirty-odd years since, in selecting Giordano Bruno as a typical "martyr of science," it is probable that his perfervid declamations on the "One and the Infinite" would have passed unheeded by practical astronomers. As it is, his views on natural science have been aureoled with a dignity they would never otherwise have attained, while we find not infrequent allusion to his "sufferings on behalf of science," in writers not intentionally hostile to the Church. Thus, Professor Campbell, Director of Lick Observatory, opens his work on "Stellar Motions" with the remark that "Giordano Bruno was martyred by the Inquisition, in the year 1600, on account of his original views on scientific subjects,"⁴ while Professor Forbes, in his "History of Astronomy," speaks in much the same strain. Such statements are inaccurate and unjust. The archives of the Roman Inquisition were rifled during the Revolution of 1848, and the minutes of Bruno's trial have in part disappeared, but we have it on the authority of a Protestant historian⁵ that enough remains to show us it was expressly stipulated that "the Nolan's" astronomic theories should *not* figure in the accusing list of heresies for which he was condemned. That Bruno's arguments for stellar infinitude should have been purely metaphysical, is not, perhaps, strange, but it is matter for surprise in this connection that modern advocates of the same theory should, like that philosopher, seemingly bring to bear a decided amount of a *priori* preference to reinforce their views. "If," says Professor Proctor, to quote once more from that astronomer, "the universe is infinite, *as we are naturally inclined to suppose*," or again: "*If we reject as abhorrent to our minds the supposition that the universe is not infinite*."⁶ Since practical scientists are rigorously, and justly, opposed to the introduction of a *priori* arguments on matters of fact, by others, they cannot consistently use such themselves. The constitution and extent of the universe are matters of fact and, as such, should be examined from an objective standpoint only.

⁴ "Stellar Motions": p. 1. "History of Astronomy": p. 61. See also Berry: "Short Hist. of Ast.," p. 171.

⁵ Dr. Höffding: "Modern Philosophy," p. 121-2.

⁶ "Old and New Astronomy," p. 690.

Yet Garrett Serviss, president of the Brooklyn Astronomical Association, urges the psychological argument quite boldly. Looking out in thought through the confines of our stellar universe into the "starless gloom" beyond, he asks: "What conclusions are we to draw concerning the beyond?" And questioning the possibility of a finite universe in infinite space, he adds: "From such conclusions the mind instinctively shrinks. It *prefers* to think that there is something beyond, though we cannot see it. Even the universe, could not bear to be alone, (!) a Crusoe lost in the cosmos! Could anything be more terrible than the thought of an isolated universe? The greater the being, the greater the aversion to seclusion. Only the Infinite satisfies: in that alone the mind finds rest. We are *driven*, then, to believe that the universal night which envelops us is not tenantless. . . . Since *our* universe is limited in extent there *must* be other universes beyond it, on all sides."

The plea here urged by Mr. Serviss, in behalf of a universe afraid to be left alone by itself in the dark, can hardly be esteemed a scientific argument. We are reminded, somewhat amusingly, of an altercation in Shakespeare's drama of Henry IV., between Glendower, the Wizard of the North, and his cousin, Hotspur, in which the former exclaims grandiloquently: "I can call spirits from the vasty deep." "Why so can I, or any other man," is the quick rejoinder of his companion, "but will they come, when you do call for them?" We can all, in imagination, evoke countless systems from the "vasty deep" of space, and may even feel an instinctive inclination so to do. But the important point is, do they exist there? In other words, is the created universe, inconceivably grand and complex as we know it to be, yet ultimately limited in extent? Or does a chain of worlds project itself into infinity? Let us see how the question stands, objectively. According to the old Ptolemaic theory of astronomy, the material universe was necessarily limited in extent. The earth occupied its centre; beyond were the eight spheres, those of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and the fixed stars, respectively. Beyond these again, lay the "Primum Mobile," or first movable sphere, upon whose revolution that of all the others depended, while surrounding all extended the Empyrean, or heaven of the blessed, of which alone Infinity could be predicated. With the introduction of the Copernican system, all this was changed. Not only the earth ceased to occupy the centre of the universe, but the new astronomy demanded a change of front all along the line. The "crystalline spheres" vanished, as by magic, our sun became only one star among many, differentiated

⁷ Garrett Serviss, "Curiosities of the Sky," p. 13.

simply by its proximity to us. The fixed stars ceased to be "golden nails, studding the celestial vault," or openings in the firmament, "through which the fires of the Empyrean shone forth," and became suns, like our own; varying light suggesting varying distance. At the same time, the dimensions of our cosmos were immensely extended, for it is evident that any real movement on the part of the earth should produce a slight apparent movement on the part of each star, just as the real revolution of the earth around the sun makes that luminary appear to move around us in inverse direction, or as objects appear to fly backward past a traveler in a railroad train.

The fact that no such stellar motion was discernible could only be explained by supposing the stars to be immeasurably more distant from the earth than had previously been imagined. So, in fact, Copernicus sought to explain it; nevertheless, this apparent fixity of the stars long continued the strongest argument against the acceptance of the Copernican theory. Kepler styled this difficulty the "Copernical pill,"⁸ which must be swallowed whole. Both Galileo and he died lacking the evidence they desired. It was not until the year 1838 that the first "parallax," or apparent movement of a star caused by the earth's motion and testifying to it, was detected.⁹ In the early development of modern astronomy, the efforts of such giant thinkers as Newton, La Place, La Grange and others, were all but wholly directed to investigations of the solar system, its origin and laws. Not until the era of the Herschels did stellar astronomy come into prominence. Upon the tomb of the elder Herschel was inscribed the epitaph "*Coelorum perrupit claustra.*" In the application of his giant telescope to the untried work of "star gauging," Herschel did, indeed, break through the barriers of heaven and open the mysteries of the universe to the gaze of all. "A knowledge of the construction of the heavens has always been the ultimate object of my observations,"¹⁰ wrote Sir William Herschel towards the close of a long life of unwearied observation and profound generalization. Such a problem had not yet been approached by the astronomers of his day. The numbers, distances and distribution of the stars were not even approximately known.

Since the night when Galileo first turned his modest tube upon the mysterious shimmer of the Milky Way to discover its stellar nature, no further effort had been made to fathom the intricacies

⁸ "*Ingens bolus, devorandus est.*" Letter to Herwart. 1603.

⁹ The "Aberration of Light," however, discovered by Bradley in 1728, affords equal testimony to the Earth's motion.

¹⁰ *Philosophical Transactions*; Vol. cl., 269.

of its structure and its relation to our whole stellar system, while the revelations of the spectroscope and the photographic plate lay still hidden in the mist of futurity. Certain speculative theories on cosmic questions had been tentatively put forth by such thinkers as Wright, Lambert and above all, by the great German metaphysician, Immanuel Kant, theories which still claim notice in our modern textbooks. Their theories were, however, unsustained by observational evidence. To Herschel alone belongs the honor of having entered upon a new and untried field of astronomic research and of marshaling its facts in orderly array:

"To him the fates were known

Of orbs, dim hovering on the skirts of space."

He began his pioneer work in that modest home at Slough, which Arago describes as, "*le lieu où il a été fait le plus de découverts du monde.*"¹¹ In his investigations as to the size, form, and stellar density of the visible universe, Herschel assumed, as the basis of a working hypothesis, that the stars were, broadly speaking, evenly scattered through space: secondly, that they were on the average, of a uniform size, so that brightness became a function of distance, and, thirdly, as a result of the two former hypotheses, that where the stars appear to "thin out," or to be farthest apart, we were nearest the boundaries of our sidereal system. It is evident to the most casual observer that all parts of the sky are not equally rich in stars. Even when the actual count of stars has been multiplied a thousandfold by telescopic power, the same relative disparity persists. Some sky regions are found to be inexpressibly rich in stars, others comparatively poor and barren. But this fact may be explained in two ways: either as due to actual disparity of stellar distribution, or as an effect of perspective, similar to that we notice when approaching the edge of a wood, where the trees seem to widen out before us as we advance, revealing glimpses of the open country beyond, while those behind draw their ranks more closely together. Or as a vista of street lamps appears to broaden out in one direction and close in on the other.

In the absence of any definite clue, Herschel, as we have seen, chose the latter view. All three of his hypotheses proved at fault, as he himself became gradually convinced. The stars are *not* uniformly distributed throughout space; on the contrary, they tend to cluster in congeries. As a Catholic writer¹² has happily expressed it and as Professor Proctor has most ably demonstrated, "they

¹¹ Holden: "*Life of Herschel*," p. 81.

¹² A. M. Clerke. "*Hist. of Astronomy in Nineteenth Century.*"

show a decidedly gregarious tendency." Nor are they, by any means, uniform in size, but range from pygmies to giants, so that the brighter star is not always the nearer. Some brilliant orbs like Arcturus, Canopus, or Spica are immeasurably distant, while an insignificant star like "61 Cygni," has proved to be our next to nearest neighbor in space. The thinly starred regions of the sky are what they appear to be: regions of stellar poverty, their sparseness being no delusion of perspective, but an actual fact. The result of Herschel's exhaustive gauges, founded on these early hypotheses, was the production of a disklike figure, bifurcated at one end, and long famous as the "cloven grindstone" figure of stellar extension. It bears a somewhat startling resemblance to an immense sidereal crab, with long streaming antennæ formed by the projection, upon a plane, of the great rifts in the Milky Way. In the light of present astronomic knowledge, it appears almost grotesque, yet it resulted strictly from the assumption of uniform stellar distribution, with the added conception of the Milky Way, not as a girdle, bounding and embracing our system, but as a vast stratum of stars extending indefinitely into space, over whose edge we peeped, as we might look over the edge of Saturn's rings, when inclined towards us and see their lateral extension. "Distrust appearances," appears to have been the motto of early sidereal explorers.

Years of patient study led Herschel, however, seriously to modify early conceptions. Far from being uniformly distributed, he saw the stars gathered in groups, in closely compressed clusters, in drifting sprays and trailing convolutions; associated with each other as binary and multiple stars: "flung down by handfuls and both hands at once"¹³ in the Milky Way. As early as 1785, he began to note the action of this "clustering" power among the stars, and in 1789 he wrote: "It appears that the heavens consist of regions where suns are gathered into separate systems." He was even able to trace a "course or tide of stars, setting towards a centre," suggesting the attractive forces of an organized system. He saw the Milky Way exercising its counterpoise of gravitational attraction, "to hold the intermediate stars at rest," and in its component parts showing evident signs of clustering together into many separate allotments.¹⁴ After 1802 we may say all vestige of an "optically produced" galaxy had vanished from Herschel's mind. He was now about to take another great step forward in his investigations of the heavens. In the magnificent sweeps of his giant telescope, he

¹³ Sir John Herschel. "Cape Observations," p. 388.

¹⁴ "Phil. Trans.," vol. 79, pp. 214-222; vol. 92, pp. 479-495.

had often come upon sky patches of cloudy light, quite irregular in shape, and sometimes upon brighter ones of more definite circular form, with not infrequently a starlike centre or nucleus. These objects he appropriately called "nebulae." At the time our greatest of practical astronomers began his work, between one and two hundred of these nebulae were known to exist. A few nebulous clusters, such as the Pleiades, or Præsepe in Cancer, had been noted from ancient times. Of nebulae, strictly speaking, the famous "Andromeda Nebula" was the only one known before the days of the telescope. The great Nebula in Orion had been observed by the Swiss Jesuit, Cysatus, in 1618. Hevedius of Danzig, and, later, Halley in England, had contributed a few more. Lacaille had brought back a list of forty-two from his labors under Southern skies, while Messier, surnamed by Louis XV. his "ferret of comets" had drawn up a catalogue of one hundred and three.

In 1786, Herschel was able to present the Royal Astronomical Society with a catalogue of one thousand, and three years later with a second catalogue containing the same number. In all, he discovered two thousand five hundred. The mysterious nature of these nebulae soon became an all engrossing subject in the astronomical world. As higher telescopic powers were used, many of these so-called nebulae were resolved into stellar clusters, so that, not unnaturally, Sir William Herschel's first inference was that their resolution was simply a matter of telescopic power, while long after he himself had abandoned this idea, the successes of Lord Rosse's giant telescope in "resolving nebulae," served to perpetuate the error among his contemporaries. In the early period of his observations, however, Herschel wrote: "Nebulae can be selected so that an insensible gradation shall take place from a coarse cluster like the Pleiades down to a milky, nebulousity, like that in Orion, every intermediate step being represented. This tends to confirm the hypothesis that all are composed of stars, more or less distant."¹⁵ Very different, as we shall see, was Herschel's later interpretation of such graded nebulousity. It is evident, however, that if all nebulae were resolvable, they must be abysmally distant, far beyond the star clusters composing our Milky Way, thousands of which can be quite separately seen in our larger instruments, and so Herschel at first conceived of them. This view gave rise to the so-called island-universe theory of nebulae, by which each tiny cloudlet of faintly shining, nebulous matter on the celestial vault became a separate galaxy, an inconceivably remote, but distinct system of worlds. So that on a social visit to

¹⁵ Holden's "Life of Herschel," pp. 207-210.

his young friend, Miss Burney, Sir William once announced that he had "just discovered one thousand five hundred new universes." The speculations of Immanuel Kant had already suggested certain phases of this theory to men's minds,¹⁶ while the very greatness of its assumptions seemed to render it popular in certain quarters. Within half a century the theory was to receive its deathblow from spectroscopic revelations. Meanwhile, Herschel's own reasoning powers were too acute not to induce a gradual transformation in his views. He perceived the intimate association of stars and nebulae, the immense diffusion of faint nebulosity throughout space: "in abundance exceeding all imagination," and became convinced of the "existence of a shining fluid in space, of a nature quite unknown to us." He began to realize that he was watching a slow process of condensation and development from the faint pearly shimmer of a formless gossamer cloud, as seen in the Orion nebula down through brighter and more clearly defined structures, as in "stellar" and "planetary" nebulae, to nebulous stars where the central body is surrounded by halos and filmy wreaths of far-extending faintly-glimmering "fire mist," as in the Pleiades. In five separate "Memoirs," Herschel presents his views on stellar evolution, showing clearly not only the probable distinction between clusters and nebulae, but the evident connection of the latter with our own sidereal system, as opposed to the island universe theory. He not only saw from the association of nebulae with stellar nuclei that these central stars would need to be orbs of truly portentous size to be separately visible, if removed to the distance of an external galaxy, but he grasped the significance of the contrasted symmetry of stellar and nebular arrangement. For while the vast majority of lucid stars lie in, or near, the plane of the Milky Way, the exact converse marks the law of nebular distribution.

With the exception of wholly "diffused" nebulae, in which star clusters lie immeshed, which are characteristic of the Milky Way, all nebulae, whether stellar, planetary or spiral, may be said to congregate in regions distant from that plane, the spaces richest in nebulous matter lying precisely at the *poles* of this great celestial girdle. Such mutual avoidance cannot be accidental, but argues some law of recognition, some function of partnership or division of labor in the economy of a complex but organized system. And so Herschel interpreted it while his son, Sir John Herschel, and later, Proctor, pressed home these views still farther. But it is, quite singularly, to Herbert Spencer, the famous English positivist, that we owe the first full presentation in literature of the status of

¹⁶ "Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels," 1755.

the nebulæ. In a "thoughtful article," appearing in the *Westminster Review* in 1858, he wrote: "If there were but one nebula, it would be a curious coincidence were this one nebula so placed in the distant regions of space as to agree in direction with a starless spot in our own sidereal system. If there were but two nebulæ, and both were so placed, the coincidence would be excessively strange. What then shall we say on finding thousands of nebulæ so placed? Shall we believe that in thousands of cases, these far removed galaxies *happen* to agree in their visible positions with the thin places in our own galaxy? Such a belief is impossible. Still more manifest does this impossibility become, when we consider the general distribution of nebulæ. Besides showing itself in the fact that the regions poorest in stars are richest in nebulæ, this law applies to the heavens as a whole. In that zone of celestial space where stars are excessively abundant, nebulæ are rare" [except the "diffused," known chiefly through photography.] "Scarcely any nebulæ lie near the galactic circle and the great mass of them lie around the galactic poles. Can this also be mere coincidence? When to the fact that the general mass of nebulæ are antithetical in position to the general mass of the stars we add the fact that the local regions of nebulæ are regions where stars are scarce and the further fact that single nebulæ are habitually found in comparatively starless spots, does not the proof of a physical connection become overwhelming?"¹⁷

Six years later (1864), Sir William Huggins, who shared with Father Secchi, S. J., the leadership in spectroscopic work, obtained the first spectrum of a nebula. The history of spectrum analysis begins, in a sense, with Sir Isaac Newton, but its significance, as revealing the physical and chemical constitution of a body, was not grasped until the experiments of Gustave Kirchoff, in 1859, made known the fact that incandescent solids or liquids give a continuous spectrum, while gases (except under great pressure) give a spectrum of bright lines only. When Sir William Huggins turned his spectroscope upon a bright planetary¹⁸ nebula in the constellation Draco, great was his surprise to find a spectrum of three bright lines only. The riddle of the nebulæ was solved. They were gaseous! The three lines noted by Huggins have been found to compose the fundamental spectrum of all gaseous nebulæ: the strongest and most characteristic of these being a dull, green ray, surnamed "nebulium," a substance unknown to earthly chemistry yet filling whole tracts of celestial space, and faintly shining in all

¹⁷ Herbert Spencer. *Essays*, second series: "Nebular Hypothesis."

¹⁸ So called from their apparent circular disk.

"green nebulae." Other nebulae show a faint, continuous spectrum as of increasing condensation, which is most prominent in the so-called white nebulae.

With the discovery of the gaseous nature of nebulae, the "island-universe" theory fell from its high estate, as having no further *raison d'être*. Advocates of an infinity of worlds still continued, however, to urge the possibility of certain nebulae among those showing the white, or semi-continuous spectra being exterior to the galactic circle. Meanwhile the problem of an infinite universe was debated under a new aspect by Olbers and Struve shortly after the elder Herschel's death. While the number of stars visible to the naked eye is, as we know, very limited, not over six thousand, yet since their number is so wonderfully multiplied by our great telescopes, fresh millions leaping into view with each increasing power, the question naturally arises, with greater light-grasping power, might not our sidereal system extend itself before us indefinitely, or has it actual limits? The answer to this latter question is in the affirmative. In March, 1823, an article by Olbers appeared in "Bode's Jahrbuch" demonstrating mathematically that, if our stellar system were to extend *continuously* outward to infinity, "the whole starlit sky would shine with the brilliancy of sunlight." For, in a continuously extended universe, no line could be drawn from the earth that would not, eventually, encounter some star, until, finally "no point in the heavens would remain unilluminated."

"We should, in fact, only be able with difficulty to discover the sun by his spots, while the moon and planets would only be perceived by us as jet-black disks upon a bright ground as brilliant as the sun."¹⁹ Olbers' argument has been presented by both Proctor and Newcomb, with substantially the same result. For, as can easily be shown, regarding the heavens as a hollow sphere, it follows that in any equable distribution of stars, their number must nearly quadruple with each descent in magnitude, simply because the cubical space holding them is quadrupled. And thus, increase of numbers counterbalancing individual diminution of light, the total light ratio may actually increase as we proceed, a process which if continued indefinitely would of course fill the heavens with a blaze of light. As a matter of fact, we do receive from forty to fifty per cent. more light *in toto*, from each successively lower magnitude of stars, down to the tenth, when the ratio changes. Roughly speaking, the totality of light from sixth magnitude stars is double that received from the fourth: that of the eighth is twice

¹⁹ Proctor: "Other Worlds Than Ours," p. 283. "Old and New Astronomy," p. 690. Gore: "Visible Universe," p. 275. Newcomb: "The Stars," p. 229.

that received from the sixth: while from all the stars, down to the tenth, we receive slightly more than seventy times as much light as from those of the first magnitude alone.²⁰ After the tenth magnitude, there is a marked falling off in the number of the smaller stars, and a falling off in an increasing ratio. They are entirely too few for the space they should occupy: (a diminution which does not apply to the stars of the Milky Way, where "veritable star dust is scattered". This thinning out of celestial ranks drew forth from Struve, the Dorpat astronomer, his famous hypothesis of the extinction of light in its passage through space. "Jene vois pas," he writes, "d'autre explication que celle d'admettre, que l'intensité de la lumière décroît *en plus grande proportion que la raison inverse des carrés des distances*: ce qui veut dire qu'il existe une perte de lumière, une extinction, dans le passage de la lumière par l'espace celeste."²¹

We know that light diminishes with the square of the distance, not because of any extinction, or absorption, by the way, but simply because the rays are dispersed over a larger area, or conversely, because the luminous body subtends a smaller angle. The planet Venus varies greatly in brightness, with carrying distance from earth, because her disk is perspectively smaller. But *area* for *area*, the intensity of the light remains the same. Struve, on the contrary, supposed a "lack of elasticity in the ether" which would "cast a cosmical veil over distant objects." It is hard to argue as to the effects of a "lack of elasticity in the ether," because the ether itself is a wholly hypothetical substance, of whose very existence we have absolutely no proof, except the difficulty of conceiving how light could be transmitted through space, without some medium to transmit it. Struve, however, proceeded to investigate what degree of absorption would be needed to produce the desired result. The amount required was somewhat startling, greatly reducing the supposed range of telescopic vision. But there were other difficulties. As Professor Grant remarks in his "History of Physical Astronomy": "If an extinction of light takes place in space, light should be everywhere extinguished at the *same* distance" and the light of the distant stars should diminish in a *constant* ratio, which is not the case. There is a *sudden* decrease for stars at the 9.5 magnitude: a *sudden* rise for stars at the tenth magnitude, followed by a fluctuating diminution.

But the strongest argument against Struve's theory was found in the character of the Milky Way, whose infinite variety of detail

²⁰ Newcomb: "The Stars," p. 277. Clerke: "System of Stars," p. 363.

²¹ Struve: "Etudes d'Astronomie Stellaire," p. 86.

and varying gradations of light, broken by rifts, and lanes, and openings of inky darkness, seemed to set at defiance the geometrical regularity of Struve's "infinitely extended plane." To support Struve's theory, it would be necessary to suppose all the openings in Milky Way, through which we look out, apparently, on "absolute night," were tunnel-shaped apertures in such a plane, all *pointed towards* our earth—a patently improbable theory, which a host of astronomers have shown to be untenable. Sir John Herschel, after devoting eight years to the verification and extension of his father's discoveries in the Northern heavens, resolved upon a similar survey of the Southern heavens. During his stay at Cape-town, he made an exhaustive study of the mysterious and complicated structure of the Milky Way, to determine, if possible, whether that

"Broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
And pavement stars;"

were indeed as it appears, a circling and limiting zone, surrounding our stellar system, or the infinitely extended stratum which Struve and others still believed it to be. His answer was emphatically in favor of the former supposition. He found that wonderful golden pathway studded and powdered with stars in such indescribable profusion, shimmering in parts with still unresolved light, yet literally riddled with "weirdly shaped channels," "winding lanes" and rifts, and even circular openings of utter darkness, some sharp and clean, "as if engraved and inked in," some "faintly bridged by wisps of luminosity." Here the almost clear-swept vacuum in Scorpio, which led Sir William Herschel to exclaim in astonishment: "Da ist wahrhaftig, ein loch in Himmel"; again the awesome blackness of the Coalsacks, near the Southern Cross, which inspired even the hardy navigators of Columbian days with awe: the whole structure, baffling in its intricacy, yet speaking clearly of a colossal unity of plan.²²

He saw what later astronomers have seen still more clearly, the futility of seeking to explain such manifold and diverse openings as due to the interposition of "obscure stars," or "dark nebulae."²³ Proctor, by his "star plotting," has shown that the whole course of the Milky Way, with all its intricate turnings, is *outlined* by a tracery of bright stars, attended by smaller ones, which may be pricked out like a pattern in lace—a fact which Professor Gore considers conclusive evidence of the clustering tendencies of the galaxy, as the development of a vast original spiral nebula (or possibly the inter-

²² Sir John Herschel: "Cape Observations."

²³ A. M. Clerke: "Problems in Astrophysics," p. 541.

lacing of two such *nebulæ*), forming the boundary of our universe, and by its disintegrating tendencies, the chronometer of its past and future existence.²⁴ "Of Struve's hypothesis of light extinction, it may be said," writes Professor Newcomb, "that he *assumed* an infinite universe, and from the fact that he did not see the evidence of infinity, concluded that light was lost. The hypothesis of a limited universe, with no extinction of light, while not absolutely proven, must be regarded as the one to be accepted until further investigation shall prove its unsoundness."²⁵ Since Struve's time, other theories of light extinction have been proposed, most prominent among them being Schiaparelli's suggestion that if light extinction really occurs, it is probably due to fine particles of cosmic matter diffused through space. Such extinction, however, should produce absorption in stellar spectra, especially in those of the more distant stars, yet no such effect has been observed.²⁶ On this assumption, too, the most distant stars should be the reddest and the galaxy tinged with sunset hues. In reality, the exact opposite is the case—the pearly, or "ashen" tint of the Milky Way being notorious, while helium, or white stars are, as a class, the most distant, having their home and habitat in the galaxy.

These objections to Schiaparelli's suggestion constitute no denial of the existence of non-luminous matter in space, for this is acknowledged, but merely considering the immensity of interstellar space, it can exist in sufficient quantity to blot out the light of an *infinite* sidereal extension. The efforts of astronomers had long been bent upon obtaining positive evidence as to the dimensions of our stellar sphere by direct measurement of the distances of the stars, and early in the nineteenth century the old problem of stellar parallax was again attacked, this time with success. Our nearest neighbor in space, Alpha Centuri, proved to be four and a quarter "light years," or 26,000,000,000,000 miles distant. Light traveling with a speed of 186,000 miles a second, *one* light year equals 5,880,000,000,000 miles. The light of the nearest star, then, reaches us in a little over four years. Stellar distances have been found, *first*, by direct measurement of their parallax, or apparent shift of position with the earth's actual translation of 186,000,000 miles from one side of its orbit to the other. The distance of between 200 and 300 stars have been found in this way. But there is a limit to the possibilities of direct measurement. With increasing distance parallaxes become too small to be appreciable. Only a few thousand stars fall within this limit, fixed at 100 light years from the sun.

²⁴ Gore: "Visible Universe," pp. 296-300. Proctor: "Old and New Astronomy," p. 713. "Other Worlds," p. 263.

²⁵ Newcomb: "The Stars," p. 231.

²⁶ Gore: "Visible Universe," p. 287.

Touring our way still farther through space, more wholesale method, Kapteyn of Groningen, a great specialist in these matters, employed, then, is the annual distance traveled by the sun. Our own sun, like all other stars, is known to be in rapid motion, a motion directed toward the bright star, Vega, in the constellation Lyra. This motion carries us annually over a distance more than four times as great as our own from the sun. By using this yearly motion of the sun as the base line of our parallax, the *average* distance of certain *groups* of stars can be ascertained. By this methods must be pressed into service. The next celestial yardstick has revealed to us the *average* distance of several *groups* of stars, down to about 1,000 light years from the sun. Here we must pause a moment to take breath! Other special methods, adapted to individual cases, have whispered to us certain further secrets as to distance, but broadly speaking, we must halt in our celestial journey at stars of the tenth magnitude,²⁷ although the telescope reveals many still fainter. With this magnitude, however, we have, as we have seen, reached the apparent maximum of stellar density. After this, a thinning out of stars sets in, until we reach the borders of the Milky Way, where their ranks are again repleted. We have evidence that certain even of our brighter stars belong to this abysmally distant zone, from Professor Proctor's "star plotting," since we cannot suppose a garland of stellar brilliants to be so poised in space as to outline the entire contour of the galaxy and yet be physically dissociated from it. This association of lucid and faint stars in the galaxy—and not in the galaxy only, but in hundreds of minor clusters—shows plainly a real difference in stellar size. We have only to join the delicate cross lines in our stellar tracery and a law of aggregation stands revealed. These large stars mark the centres of condensation and gravitational domination in the thronging clusters of the Milky Way! But though the stars here associated are *relatively* large and small, we do not know their *actual* size, and upon our estimate of this will depend our estimate also of the ultimate dimensions of our stellar ball.

Some stars are known to be thousands of times brighter than our sun, others are only one-fiftieth as bright. Professor Newcomb adds: "It seems certain that some stars emit millions of times as much light as others."²⁸ If then we judge the bright stars of our galaxy to be only average denizens of the stelar world and its faint ones really minute, we bring the boundaries of our star system nearer. But if we suppose, as there is some reason for doing, that the rank

²⁷ Professor Prentiss: "Extent of Universe"; Rutgers "Alumni Quarterly," 1914.

²⁸ "The Stars," p. 192.

and file of galactic stars are orbs comparable to our sun, dominated by veritable giants, we at once fling wider its borders. Calculating on this latter basis, Professor See, of our Naval Observatory, California, judges the diameter of our starry universe to be between two and ten millions of light years!²⁹ Imagination may well stand appalled before the magnitude of such dimensions! We have, however, still to consider the plea of infinitarians for the extra galactic status of some of our great spiral or white nebulae. That the laws of probability proclaim our suzerainty over the great majority of nebulae, that many lines of evidence converge to prove the association in space of nebulae with gaseous stars, they admit. But they urge that, as yet, we know certainly the distances of stars only, for the nebulae, being far fainter and less definite in outline, have so far eluded parallactic measurement. The typical form of the spiral nebula suggests comparison with that of our own galaxy (now believed to be the development of a vast primitive spiral), while their faintly continuous spectrum is equivocal or transitional, and *might* be interpreted as that of a remote galaxy in an early stage of cosmical life. May not, then, some of our greater spirals be removable to outer space? Time will not permit the analysis of this plea in detail. We can only outline the chief reasons for its rejection. Of the hundreds of thousands of nebulae estimated by Prof. Keeler to lie within the reach of the photographic plate, two stand forth unrivaled as the exemplars of their respective classes—the great nebula in Orion and the Andromeda nebula, queen of spirals.

The former stands confessed throughout all its fathomless depths of luminous gas of association in space with the stars of the great stellar giant's belt. But of the latter nebula extra-galactic distance has at times been urged. Appearing to the naked eye as a tiny "blur upon the sky, a mere wisp of luminosity," its proportions as revealed by photography are indescribably grand. It is most famous in astronomic record, having been noted by the Arabs as early as 905 A. D., to whom it was known as "Al Sufi's little cloud." In the West, it seems first to have been observed by Simon Marius in 1612. "For wild, incomprehensible beauty," writes Serviss, "there is nothing that can be compared with it. . . . It resembles a whirlwind of snow, while the appearance of swift motion and terrific force is startling." Millions of miles in depth, it is yet of such inconceivable tenuity that we can *see through it*!³⁰ But regarding the crucial question of its distance, we must remem-

²⁹ Professor Prentiss: "Extent of Universe"; Rutgers "Quarterly," 1914. Many estimates are much more moderate.

³⁰ Serviss: "Curiosities of the Sky," p. 99. Maunder: "Heavens and Their Story," p. 313.

ber first that those who incline to place it outside our system are also those who insist on a "cosmical veil" of light absorption, with the added suggestion of a possible "thinning out" or cessation of the celestial ether *outside* the borders of the galaxy, rendering all beyond *invisible*. If such be the case, it at once follows from the mere evidence of visibility that we may claim this queen of nebulae as our own. But again, although the Andromeda nebula is not permanently associated with any bright stars, as are so many of its compeers, yet, in 1885, a "nova," or temporary star, suddenly shone forth in its depths, almost at its very heart, glowing with a soft, golden effulgence through the silvery veil of the nebula for about six months, and then slowly fading into invisibility. That the newcomer was a veritable denizen of the nebula, not merely optically projected upon it, is clearly proved by the frequent occurrence of novae in nebulae, as a recognized feature of nebular life. Novae Scorpii, Coronae, Cygni, Andromedae, Persei (No. 1), Aurigae, Normae, Carinae, Centaurii, Sagittarii and Aquilae, all appeared between 1860 and 1900, while sixteen others have been detected since the opening of the century. Such frequent recurrence manifestly precludes any mere chance configuration.

But the fact of actual association was even more conclusively proved by the first transformation of several novae into genuine nebulae. Nova Aurigae metamorphosed itself into a planetary nebula as a phase of its decline—an example followed by Nova Cygni and several more recent novae, which severally showed the three green lines of orthodox nebular spectra.³¹ Supposing now the Andromeda nebula an external universe, its splendor must needs surpass our own many times to render it visible at such stupendous distance.³² What then must have been the colossal proportions of the "star" gleaming at its heart? And all evolved in the course of six months! Yet unless we are prepared to accept the rapid and frequent fabrication and decline of such "island universes," we must relinquish the extra-galactic status of the Andromeda nebula. Fortunately, we have testimony as to the actual distance of at least one of these novae. Early in 1901 a new star blazed forth in the constellation Perseus, and in a few days sprang from invisibility to the first magnitude, then slowly faded; a few months later its spectrum had become that of a gaseous nebula. The nebulous nova was now photographed and actually caught in the act of (apparently) evolving a spiral nebula from its own substance, and this in the most rapid and peculiar manner, the interlacing branches spreading outwards with a speed which would have carried them over eleven minutes of

³¹ A. M. Clerke: "System of Stars," ch. vii.; "Problems in Astrophysics," ch. xxiv.

³² Proctor: "Other Worlds," p. 282.

arc in a year. Two astronomers, Professor Kapteyn and W. E. Wilson, watched the phenomenon closely, and doubted whether the star were really producing the nebula, judging it more probable that it had only *illuminated* by its blaze a previously existent, *dark* nebula, and that we were simply watching its progressive *illumination*. The question then became, "How far off must the nebula be for the distance really traveled to appear as eleven minutes of arc on the sky?" Light travels 186,000 miles in a second, or 5,880,000,000,000 in a year, as we have seen. So this explanation would place the nebula at a distance of 300 light years, and the blaze of the nova must really have taken place at the time when Galileo first turned his telescope towards the heavens.

There are difficulties in this theory of a dark nebula revealed by reflected light, but for our present purpose they do not matter, for since the speed of light is the swiftest known, the supposition serves to show the greatest distance at which we can believe the new star and nebula to have been; 300 light years, however, is well within our stellar limits. Again, although we have been unable to detect any parallax or shift of a nebula across the sky, we can measure their radial motion, or motion towards or from us in the line of sight. Such motion is determined by the spectroscope, not the telescope, and can be measured very accurately, independently of distance, as long as the spectrum is bright enough to show the spectral lines. Many nebulae are known to have rapid radial motions. The Andromeda nebula, in particular, is estimated as approaching us at the rate of 300 kilometers per second.³⁴ But were this nebula extragalactic this would mean that an entire universe were approaching us at this rate! The thought of an approaching universe brings before us one final objection to the existence of an infinite plurality of worlds, with a bare glance at which we must close. It is the objection based on gravitational effects. It would be difficult to say what would be the result upon our system were it subjected on all sides to an infinite gravitational pull! One writer suggests that it would be reduced to a "pulverulent condition."³⁵ Another adds: "If then the universe were infinite in extent, any point would be a centre of gravity and individual spheres would be unable to hold together by the mutual attraction of their parts."³⁶ Were this question to be thoroughly investigated by some competent authority, it might perhaps bring us to the conclusion of the whole matter at hand, at least as to possibilities, although the force of any decision adverse to a plurality of worlds could at once be nullified by sup-

³⁴ Slipher: "Rad. Vel. of And. Neb." "Popular Astronomy," January, 1914.

³⁵ Ely: "Infinite Universe," "Pop. Ast.," August, 1908, April, 1909.

³⁶ B. G. Harrison, F. R. A. S.: "Infinite Universe." "Pop. Ast.," March, 1912.

posing the celestial "ether to cease" at the boundaries of our own cluster, leaving beyond a "perfect void incapable of transmitting either gravitation or light."

We might then, indeed, be surrounded by countless universes, but they would be to us as though they were not, since they would remain forever unknown and unknowable. To cite once more the writer just quoted: "There does not seem to be any evidence either of an infinite universe or of external galaxies, whether we consider the question from an observational or theoretical point of view."³⁷ Or, in the words of another author: "A practical certainty has been attained that the entire contents, stellar and nebular, of the sphere belong to one mighty aggregation, and stand in mutual, ordered relations within the limits of one all-embracing scheme: all-embracing, that is to say, as far as our capacities of knowledge extend. With the *infinite possibilities* beyond science has no concern."³⁸ Seeing then that objective evidence thus far reveals to us a finite universe only, is it not misleading to speak of being "*driven*" to believe in an Infinite One? It is quite true that mental bias may (and probably will) lead many to favor, conjecturally, one or the other view. *One* may incline to accept a finite universe on the ground that "God alone is Infinite." *Another* may urge that an Infinite God would fittingly express Himself in an infinite creation. Either view may be acceptable, since it has been reverently held as such, though neither should be adduced as a scientific argument. To-day, however, the special pleaders for an infinite universe seem quite to have forgotten the devout adage of Kepler: "Non est naturae mensura, hominis electio."³⁹ We cannot safely or becomingly exchange the attitude of reverent observer and investigator of God's works for that of umpire; and it seems strange indeed that modern astronomers should have fallen into the very dogmatism they have so strenuously decried, and above all, in the matter of cosmogony, where the wisest scientist is but a tyro in the school of the ages—a child gathering cosmic pebbles from the great ocean of time. The remedy must surely be sought and found in Catholic scholarship. It is said that the University of Louvain saved Belgium from falling a prey to German scientific and philosophic rationalism. May the day soon come when Catholic scholarship shall be more widely felt in English-speaking lands as a positive factor in redeeming science from the materialistic tendencies of the age!

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New York, N. Y.

³⁷ Harrison, F. R. A. S.: "Pop. Ast.," March, 1912, p. 145.

³⁸ A. M. Clerke: "System of Stars," p. 349.

³⁹ "Letter to Herwart," 1599.

HELLENISM AND THE JEWS

IN THE THREE CENTURIES PRECEDING CHRISTIANITY

WITH Alexander the Great's world-conquering campaign begins the period of history called from its thought-color Hellenistic. The present study will endeavor to outline the nature and phases of Hellenistic culture, its influence upon the Jews and their reaction thereto, and the Providential *convenientia* of these movements for the establishment of Christianity.

GENESIS OF HELLENISM

Correctly to estimate the nature of Hellenism, its roots must first of all be traced in the history of Greek philosophy. What is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of Hellenism, a questioning agnosticism, can be laid at the doors of the very first exponents of Greek philosophic thought, the sophists of the fifth century before Christ. At that time Protagoras (440), Gorgias (426) and Thrasymachos initiated a reflexive subjectivism whose principle was: "Man is the measure of things." This principle, uprooting the foundations of all hitherto accepted Greek religion and morality, had a powerful reaction in the whole domain of intellectual life. Doubt concerning the existing order of things, doubt concerning long-cherished popular ideas and fancies, colored the thought-atmosphere of that day and continued thus through the subsequent centuries.

Socrates (469-399) corrected this tendency somewhat by his axiom: "The gods alone are wise"—holding that man is 'the measure of all only in so far as he descends passionless into his own being and seeks the essential good. Socrates' disciple, Plato, was the first to define the fundamental distinction of *actus* and *potentia*, thereupon postulating his famous "ideas" as the medium through which things in *potentia* might receive the *forma* of perfection. For Plato, man is the link joining material to super-material, and the Divinity has left the world to work itself out. Both Socrates and Plato taught the immortality of the soul.

Aristotle of Stagira (384) in his eighteenth year began studying at Athens under Plato. If his master was poetical in thought-system and expression, the pupil was eminently practical—a cool scientific investigator. From Aristotle dates the golden age of Greek philosophy. He established all knowledge on a solid objective basis by his principle: "Omnis nostra cognitio incipit a sensu." His intimate analysis of the functions and processes of the mind founded the only psychology worthy of the name. His meta-

physics penetrated into the innermost sanctuaries of being, scrutinizing *actus* and *potentia*, substance and accident, cause and effect, and definitely demonstrating the existence of an infinite Supreme Being. Characteristic of the "maestro di color chi sanno"¹ was logical systematization, division into genera and species, in the whole thought-field, giving clarity, preciseness of distinction, definite terms.

Now Aristotle, it will be remembered, became the tutor of Alexander—afterwards, as fit pupil of such a master, surnamed the Great. During the latter's youth, Athens, centre and source of Greek intellectual life, art, literature, philosophy, already materially corrupt and politically succumbing to the inherent weaknesses of democracy, came, together with the rest of Greece, under the hegemony of Macedon, the growing though less cultured monarchy of the North. There Philip II. had just put his own house in order, and the Macedonians, joined with the conquered Hellenes, were well prepared for external conquests by the new and formidable development of the phalanx, whose spears were destined to pierce the way for practical application of Greek philosophy in many nations.

Previously to Philip's conquest of Greece, Attic snobbishness, aloofness, had hindered the extension of Greek thought beyond Hellas. In general there was little thought-intercourse among peoples. Nations were clannish, unsharing of their goods of mind as they were handicapped in interchange of commerce. But now, in the all-wise designs of Providence, what Philip had done for Greece Alexander was to do for the world. When now the supreme turning-point of the world's history, the advent of the incarnate God-man, was in the offing, Alexander and his Hellenized armies were to tumble political barriers which so long had impeded national intercourse and Greek thought, ready now after Aristotle to interpret the "*universitas rerum*," could permeate the intellectual systems and religious beliefs of all peoples; could, like the mighty earthquake under whose symbolism it had been foreshown long ago to Elias in his Horeb vision,² shake far lands with its upheaving power, casting down thrones of kings and altars of ancient gods. This overturning, victorious advance of Hellenic culture under the standards of Macedonian leadership is as effectively as succinctly described in the opening chapter of the First Book of Machabees:

Now it came about, after Alexander, Philip's son, had conquered and become king of Greece in his [father's] stead, that he

¹ Dante, *Inferno*, Canto IV., l., 28.

² III. Kings, xix., 11d.

went forth from the land of Macedon³ and overcame Darius, king of the Persians and Medes, and waged many wars and overpowered many strongholds and slew kings of the land, and he passed even to the ends of the earth and he took much booty of a multitude of peoples. And the earth grew silent in his sight. And he was raised on high and his heart aspired. And he got together an exceedingly great force, and he became master of lands and peoples and rulers, and they became tributaries to him.⁴

HELLENISM IN ITSELF

Since Hellenism may be formulated as Greek philosophy plus Alexander's campaigns, we may now examine what reaction followed upon the violent religious, political, cultural ebullition that set in when the sharp acid of Hellenic thought was poured into the alkaline passivity of the Oriental peoples. What was the nature of the resultant precipitate, which we have since called Hellenism?

This may be best observed in the change of thought life of the Hellenistic Greeks themselves. Attic reserve and self-sufficiency had been permanently battered down. Philosophy, now in its second, popular stage, was taught or discussed in the *agorá* of every considerable town from the Black Sea to the Cyrenaica. For Greek deserters, traders, colonists scattered far and wide along the broad paths of Alexander's armies. By thus coming into intimate contact with the despised "Barbaroi," the Greeks began to appreciate their institutions and to examine and assimilate their doctrines. Having themselves made their own hoary heathen mythologic fancies to totter and fall under the facts of philosophy, the minds of the Greeks, now cleared and swept of the lumber of idolatry, the rubbish of ancient beliefs, and feeling the void of negation, near-atheism, were ready and eager to receive the seven worse devils of foreign superstitions. The opening of the Greek language of this period to foreign words is the significant parallel of the opening of the Greek mind to non-Greek thought. Nationally, then, the Greek became a world-citizen. On his side the "wall of separation"⁵ was battered down and loosened by the blows of Alexander's campaign to be later, from the other side, crumbled entirely by the preaching of the Glad Tidings.

In the philosophico-theological plane, *syncretism* was the dominant note of Hellenism. This tendency, with its inherent conse-

³ The Kithim (Gen. x., 4; I. Mac. i; viii., 5.) Kition are in Biblical language first generically the prehistoric inhabitants of the Greek isles, of Phœnician origin, specifically of Cyprus, whose capital was Kition. It may be that these ancient colonists settled extensively in Macedonia. At any rate, the Greeks never denied the Hellenic origin of the Macedonians, admitting them to the Ishhmian games, in which only Hellenes might compete.

⁴ I. Mac. i., 1-5 (Greek).

⁵ Eph. ii., 14.

quences for good as well as for evil, it communicated to all minds it infected. The mystic Oriental cults began to appeal to the Greeks, unconsciously hungering for some positive religious tenets that would stand the test of philosophy. Become true "spermologoi," flitting "seed-pickers" of ideas in the marketplaces of the world's thought—as they later contemptuously styled St. Paul⁶—they gathered scraps of knowledge and belief from all nations.

In examining, adopting and assimilating foreign religious elements to harmonize them with their philosophic principles, they employed the help of *allegorism*—a medium already found most useful in expounding their own ancient myths popularly current.⁷

In the political plane Hellenism encouraged *individualism*. Every member of a Greek town, having a voice in the civic government, was conscious of personal responsibility—differing in this from the great masses ruled by Oriental despots, who scarcely gave any heed to the value of an individual. As colonies were organized on the Hellenistic plan, and were readily imitated by neighboring communities, a new appreciation of the importance of an individual effectively counteracted blind adherence to an autocratic system of law and government.

A natural consequence of this liberalism in matters of theory and thought was *hedonism* in practical life, a policy of expediency, usefulness in the acceptance and treatment of material facts concerning which there could be no abstract disputes. Hence the popularity of Epicurus and Carneades as philosophers of the practical. Hence also the gymnasia with their classes of "epheboi" were community institutions, social centres in every country touched by Hellenism.⁸

To summarize: Hellenism, a world-culture phase growing out of Greek philosophy impinging on other thought-systems through the medium of Alexander's campaigns, had for its outstanding

⁶ "But certain ones of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers disputed with him. And some said: 'What is this seed-picker trying to tell us?' But others said: 'He seems to be a preacher of new gods;'—because Paul had announced to them Christ and the resurrection. And taking him they brought him up to the Areopagus, saying: 'May we be informed what is this new doctrine you are preaching? For you bring new things to our ears. We would like to know, therefore, what these things mean.' All Athenians and people living there busy themselves about nothing so much as about either telling or hearing something new." (Acts xvii., 18-21).

⁷ For example, the tale of the companions of Ulysses turned to swine by Circe was allegorically explained as the soul degraded by giving way to the animal passions. The old gods, too, by this antianthropomorphizing tendency, were treated as concretizations, symbols, of virtues, vices, powers. Thus a compromise was effected with vulgar beliefs.

⁸ This importance attached to care of the body was in the beginning controlled by traces of the old Spartan asceticism, but later degenerated into luxury in its worst phase, enervated by oriental influences absorbed through syncretism.

feature syncretism, and had for good effects chiefly a destruction of gross pagan superstitions and a liberalizing, broadening of men's outlook upon the world and God; and for bad effects, sapping of religious sincerity, indifference, materialism.

REACTION OF HELLENISM ON THE JEWS: HISTORIC PHASES

Jerusalem, the religious and political capital of the Jews, though at the time under Persian suzerainty, seems, according to Josephus,⁹ scarcely to have been touched by the first great wave of the Alexandrian armies. The conqueror of Persia, though wrought up against the Jews by their chronic enemies, the Samaritans, not only spared the city, but did reverence to the high priest, Jaddua; he even offered sacrifice in the temple in accordance with the syncretic tolerance of Hellenistic principles, and left the Hebrew people liberty to follow their own legislative system, besides granting them economic favors. But the strong-lived seed of liberal Greek thought had been sown among that nation so tenaciously conservative. Hellenic national elements, deserters, traders, colonists, now dotted the homeland of the Chosen People. The Samaritans had entered into a league with the Greeks; all the surrounding territories passed from Syrian and Semitic to Hellenic and Aryan control. Soon the thought-atmosphere of Judea itself could no longer escape the Gentile contamination of Hellenism.

THE JEWS OF THE DIASPORA

An indirect factor making for Hellenization, more potent, perhaps, than Alexander's direct invasion of Jewish territory, was the reactive influence of the Jews of the Diaspora—those whom the wars of Alexander's various rival successors had scattered through the Hellenic cities of Greece, Asia Minor, along the Euphrates and in Northern Africa. Corinth, Athens, Pergamos, Antioch, Tarsus, Alexandria, Cyrene, in fact all the more important cities of the Hellenistic world had their Jewish exile settlements.¹⁰ The most renowned and influential of these was the great colony at Alexandria, the chief centre of Hellenism. This flourished and prospered under the congenial rule of the Ptolemies, its synagogue rivaling the very

⁹ Antiq. XI., c. 8, 8; 3, 5.

¹⁰ The members of these made pilgrimages to the Temple on occasion of the great festivals. Thus we read in the Acts (ii., 9-11) that at the first Pentecost there were present in Jerusalem "Parthians and Medes, and Elamites, and inhabitants of Mesopotamia . . . Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene . . . Cretes and Arabians." Even if by the above-mentioned are not meant Jews whose language was that of those countries, there can be no doubt about the men who, a little later, disputed with St. Stephen—"some of . . . the synagogue of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them that were of Cilicia and Asia" (Acts vi., 9). For summary of pre-Christian Jewish colonies, see Haneberg, *Geschichte der Biblischen Offenbarung*, pp. 454-464, 3rd ed.

Temple in splendor. So numerous and powerful were the Egyptian colonies of Jews—their beginnings dating perhaps even from the time of Jeremias—that they did not scruple to raise at Leontopolis, near Memphis, a rival temple which stood for over three hundred years.¹¹

That the members of these widely scattered and economically important colonies, daily in contact with Hellenism on every side, should not assimilate some of its characteristics, was humanly impossible, and that these same Jews, keeping up constant communication by correspondence and by travel with their brethren of Judea, should have a marked influence on the latter was but natural.

It is to be doubted whether, at its first coming, these exiled Jews recognized in Hellenism a most potent ally of the Mosaic system against the surrounding heathenism. But it was in truth a mighty spirit-breathing, forerunning the coming of the Logos, Truth Itself, which crumbled the idols of hoary heathen worships, and through the insatiable absorbing power of its syncretism opened the minds of many nations to revealed truth as contained in the Hebrew Scriptures, brought to far lands by Jewish colonists.

Thus it came about that the sacred writings, containing the major deposit of divine revelation till then, so long jealously guarded by the Jews, at last were made accessible to the whole Greek-speaking world. The extravagant bibliomania of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whom the Hellenistic craze for universal culture impelled to gather at Alexandria literary productions of every country, to be translated for the benefit of the great school there, soon had the strange hieratic volume of the Thora published in Greek, never realizing that this work was to be the corner-stone of the most enduring literary monument, the Greek Bible.

Taking the Septuagint Version together with the popular interpretations of the Sabbath Scripture readings, we may conjecture that the inspired Hebrew writings had not a little influence for good in the world of their time.¹² We have more positive evidence for this in the coincident beginning of proselytism. Since the admission of non-Jews to participation in the religious knowledge and privileges of the Mosaic code had not been explicitly provided for in the Pentateuch,¹³ such participation had hitherto never been encouraged, and the cases of conversion to Judaism were very

¹¹ Josephus, Wars, VII.; Antiq. XIII., c. 3, 8; 2.

¹² Aristobolus (frag. apud Euseb. Praep. ev. XIII., c. 12) even suggests that Plato had been acquainted with a pre-Alexandrian version of the Pentateuch.

¹³ The Thora, however, frequently legislates favorably for "the stranger within the gates" (Exod. xx: 10; Deut. v.: 14; xxxi.: 12). Compare also the rite of taking a female captive to wife (Deut. xxi.: 10-13).

sporadic.¹⁴ But as Hellenistic liberalism in religion began to permeate, proselytes, particularly those called "of the gate," bound only to the observance of the Noachic precepts,¹⁵ began to multiply, increasing till, at Christ's time, even the conservative Pharisees could be reproached for excessive zeal in making converts.¹⁶

But the opening of the treasures of Hebrew sacred lore to the Gentiles also subjected the religious system of the Jews to that destructive criticism which was so prominent a feature of Hellenistic philosophic thought. Many a passage of the Scripture on first reading would seem irreconcilable with stoic metaphysics. This school, which had destroyed the humanized deities of old paganism, would certainly ridicule, for example, the anthropomorphisms of the Pentateuch when speaking of the Supreme Being. Hence the Jews of the Diaspora early took advantage of a ready Hellenistic means to reconcile Greek philosophy and Semitic rhetoric, namely: allegory. By this method, acknowledged legitimate by their opponents, they smoothed out the difficulties of their sacred writings and made the latter more palatable to the taste of the times. Chief exponent of this system was Philo of Alexandria, whose numerous apologetic writings are a fusion of Platonism, Pythagoreanism and stoicism, all joined with and hardly dominating Judaism.

Besides this, the failings, weaknesses of Hellenism—only too evident, particularly the materialism and the luxury consequent upon its application in practical life—were also combated directly by the Jews in writings like the inspired books of Wisdom and the translation of Sirach. In Wisdom the heaven-born, supernatural doctrine of God is contrasted with the earthly "sophia" of the Greek; in Ecclesiasticus the great ethic principles underlying the Law, expanded in charming *meshalim*, are set before the Greeks and the Jews "for the service of them that are willing to apply their minds, and to learn how they ought to conduct themselves, who purpose to lead their life according to the Law of the Lord"¹⁷ and not according to the materialistic principles of Carneades and the Cyrenean school.¹⁸

¹⁴ Jethro, Rahab, Ruth, Naaman.

¹⁵ As filled out by rabbinic tradition these were: (1), not to live without some form of government; (2), to avoid blasphemy and (3), idolatry; (4), not to marry near of kin; (5), not to shed human blood, nor (6), to rob; (7), not to eat blood or strangled animals. See Gen. ix., 1-10 and Acts xv., 20, 28-29.

¹⁶ "Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte. . . ." (Matt. xxiii., 15).

¹⁷ Prologue to Ecclesiasticus.

¹⁸ The struggle against Hellenic perversion by the Jews of the Diaspora is mutely witnessed to, in the Septuagint translation; where, for example in Is. ix., 12 (xi.); Jer. xvi., 16 (xxvi., 16); I, 16 (xxvii., 16) "Philistine" and "Assyrian," the Jews' traditional enemies, has been rendered by "Hellenic."

Now, let it be remembered that all the change wrought in the thought habits of the Jews of the Diaspora, surely, and not very slowly, was bound to influence the mentality of the Jews of the homeland, Palestine, with whom the former kept in intimate touch through travel, commerce and the ritual pilgrimages to the Temple. Add to this factor the many Heilenistic elements scattered throughout Judea and its hinterland—and the deep-going doctrino-cultural changes in Palestinian thought of this period become quite intelligible.

EFFECTS OF HELLENISM IN PALESTINE

During more than one hundred years after Alexander's passing invasion of Judea, under the mild rule of the Ptolemies of Egypt, the germination of the Hellenic thought-seed went on so quietly and gradually in Palestine itself that it has left no trace in the sacred history of that period, except that "evils were multiplied upon the earth."²⁰ Josephus, however, remarks an increasing liberality of intercourse between the Jews and the Gentiles, the rulers of the latter being quite disposed to improve the civil status of the conquered, and with true Heilenistic broadmindedness, generally permitting them to live according to their own laws.²¹

But the seed sown had nevertheless germinated, and the leaves of its growth were about to appear in a favorable season. In the wars of Antiochus the Great, Palestine passed from Ptolemaic to Seleucid suzerainty, and under Epiphanes (174), the intolerant successor of the above-mentioned king, we suddenly note the deeper changes already wrought among the more radical Jewish elements by Hellenistic ideas. Partly to cater to the government, partly through plain Hellenistic corruption, the younger generation suddenly wished to Heilenize all Jewish life. With the king's authority to back them, Greek customs were forcibly introduced, Greek dress adopted, a gymnasium for bodily training and luxury in Greek style erected near the Temple itself, and the ancient Law and traditions despised to such an extent that even the physical sign of Hebrew nationality was obliterated by surgical operation.²² "So great indeed," says the author of II. Machabees, "was the enthusiasm for Hellenism and the going over to foreign manners . . . that the priests even no longer ministered at the altars, but, despising the Temple and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to take part in the athletic exercises and the discus games, and counting for naught the honors of their fatherland, became infatuated with Greek glories."²³

²⁰ I. Mac. i., 10.

²¹ Joseph. Antiq. XII., 3.

²² I. Mac. i., 12-16; II. Mac. iv., 12.

²³ II. Mac. iv., 13-15.

Such proclivity for Hellenistic culture on the part of a large proportion of the inhabitants of Palestine could not but produce a correspondingly strong reaction against all innovation among the faithful majority. As opposed to the philhellenic, rational Zado-kite group, perpetuated in the Sadducees, there arose first the guerilla bands of the glorious Machabees, succeeded by the zealous Chasidim. Thus Hellenism dug the chasm in Jewish life that was to remain unbridged till, through its divisive effects, the Jewish nation as such finally perished beneath the ruins of Jerusalem.

The Chasidim, through their rigoristic applications of the Law, soon degenerated into the Pharisees, who laid maximum stress on external observance, and particularly emphasized the precept of separation from everything non-Hebrew, from which principle they obtained their name. Closely allied to them were the scribes, who aimed to erect of protecting traditional rules a bulwark around the Law itself, whilst at the same time they were undermining the true observance of the latter by subtle casuistry redolent of Hellenistic liberalism.

EFFECTS OF HELLENISM ON HEBREW RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Interesting as are the historico-political changes consequent upon the importation of Hellenism into Palestine, they are exceeded in importance by the fundamental changes wrought through that same importation in the traditional mentality of Jewry. These changes consisted chiefly in a broadening of intellectual outlook and religious interpretation. Hebrew thought, so characteristically Semitic in its synthetizing tendency, now became acquainted with Aryan analysis, as taught by its unrivaled exponents, the Greek philosophers. The treasure of divine revelation for the first time was studied with the aid of exact philosophic terminology and thus entirely new aspects of the Scriptures revealed themselves. The weapons were forged and the battleground prepared for the age-long war to be waged between the wisdom of God and the wisdom of the world.

In proportion as the concept of God, through removal of anthropomorphisms, became more transcendent, it was also more and more universalized. Yahweh, God of Israel, is now insistently proclaimed as "Ruler of the Universe."²⁴ Now the Jews began practically to realize the world-wide function whose lesson had first been taught them in the Book of Jonas and had been definitely expressed by the elder Tobias: "He hath scattered you among the Gentiles, who know Him not, that you may declare His wonderful works, and

²⁴ II. Mac. vii., 9; cf. ib. vii., 35-38; xiv., 35.

make them know that there is no other Almighty God beside Him."²⁵

As regards God in Himself, the Jews, having at last been definitely cured of tendencies to idolatry, polytheism, in the captivity, were in fit mental condition for a more advanced and explicit revelation of the Deity's pluripersonal life. They were better prepared than other peoples because they could begin from a purely monotheistic basis. Hellenism, as involving the Platonic idea-doctrine, was thus become a way-breaker for the Trinity concept. Hence the revelation developments of God's life in Himself, found in the Books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. Plato had postulated real separate existence for prime ideas, "universals," . . . *species* of knowledge.²⁶ In these later revelations God's intellectual activity-phase not only appears more and more distinct in Himself as an attribute, but becomes a definitely outlined, substantial projection, as it were, from the Divine nature, till it is conceived as a true emanation, "procession," from the God-head, implying however, no birth-severance, no separation, consequently no inferiority—hence the *Memra*, the Palestinian, correcter formulation of the Logos-idea, approaching, if not also already implying, hypostatic being.

At this time also the soteriological ideas latent in revelation came more and more to the forefront in Hebrew thought; the Messianic kingdom began to be conceived as having not only a national but also a universal scope. An extreme and false development of the Messianic idea, brought about in sub-Machabean times in the reaction from the evils of Hellenic invasion, and responsible for many narrow, theocratic misconceptions regarding the Messias' nature and function, was the apocalyptic movement, an endeavor to revive the courage of the disconsolate faithful ground under the heels of the *goyim*, by painting glittering visions of Messianic liberation and material world-conquest.

A most notable change is found to have been wrought at this time in the domain of ideas relative to the whole economy of relations of man to God. Witness the remarkable insistence of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom on free-will and the responsibility of the individual. Ritual is not so much emphasized; sacrifices, the Temple even, seem to become subordinated to the *opus operantis*, the personal conduct of the individual. At the same time stoicism and hedonism were forcefully combated.

Lastly may be remarked the great development of angelology and

²⁵ Tob. xlii., 3.

²⁶ Phaedon, 19, 20, 21.

demonology apparent in Hellenic times, though definite, positive dependence of these movements from Hellenism is not clear. Great emphasis is now found to be laid on the resurrection of the body. The very definite development of eschatologic ideas likewise does not seem to the writer to be traceable to Hellenism.²⁷ Rather, the false apocalyptic eschatology so widely propagated and so tenaciously adhered to by the Pharisees, who blindly disregarding the prophetic indications of the first meek advent of the Messiah in merciful redemption, identified the coming "in power" for Jerusalem's destruction with the final personal advent for the judgment of the world,²⁸ must on the one hand be laid to an obstinate hardening of heart and shutting of mind to facts of revelation and history illumined by the Hellenic dawn, and on the other to a tenacious clinging to the empty dreams of the night of ignorant pride.

HELLENISM AND CHRIST: CONCLUSION

The sombre Semitic background against which Our Lord's figure moves in the Gospel narratives is constantly shot through with exodic colors, personages, and happenings of Hellenistic origin—names such as "Cæsarea, Decapolis, didrachma, Pilate, Court of the Gentiles"; personages such as "governors, soldiers, the centurion" who liberally builds a synagogue, the "Greeks" who approach Christ for an audience in the Temple; happenings such as the constantly recurring Pharisaic insistence on "separation" from everything "Gentile," taxpaying, and, above all, the legal procedure and the unutterably horrible details of Christ's Passion.

And indeed, as has been already suggested, Hellenism was the fitting intellectual dawn to precede the rising of the Sun of Truth, Jesus Christ, the Logos, the divine *Sophia* incarnate. By it the world was prepared for the full pouring forth of dazzling revelation.

Hellenism had long ago battered down or weakened pagan myths. Its syncretic character made men's minds receptive of new doctrines. Its keen analytic philosophy furnished the new idea—forms that enabled reason better to grasp the sublimities of Christ's teaching, and its cosmopolitanism assured the ready reception of the

²⁷ The philhellenic Sadducees, it will be remembered, "say there is no resurrection," Acts xxiii., 8; cf. Matt. xxii., 23; Luke xx., 27.

²⁸ For a thorough analysis of Pharisaic eschatology, as combated by Christ, see the series of articles on "St. Matthew and the Parousia," by E. T. Shanahan, in the "Catholic World" of 1918.

Good Tidings, so rapidly spread through its world-wide dissemination by the early Church.²⁹

Christ was far from going the length of the Sadducees in favoring Hellenism; yet it may not be an overbold conjecture to say that the Pharisees' chronic antagonism of Christ was due largely to the latter's promulgating "advanced" views, and doctrines which these standpatters immediately identified with Hellenism. In Judea, its home-land, Pharisaism, grown into stiff and hollow formalism, was proudly jealous of anything redolent of the meaty, youthful Hellenic spirit. Certainly Christ found his teaching better received in Galilee "of the Gentiles" than in conservative Judea—though there it needs multitudinous miracles to overcome Hellenistic rational incredulity.

May we not consider that solemn reception of the "Greeks" by Christ in the Temple during the momentous last week of His life as an acknowledgment that Hellenism was about to enter upon its final and most fruitful phase in the economy of the Redemption? . . . "Now there were certain Hellenes among them, who had come up to worship in the Temple. These approached Philip [note the Hellenic name] and requested of him: 'Sir, we wish to see Jesus.' And Philip went and spoke to Andrew, and Andrew and Philip, in turn, spoke to Jesus."³⁰ Our Lord thereupon received these Hellenes (not necessarily Greeks), had a heavenly voice thunder forth over the assembly the confirmation of His mission, and took occasion of the interview to announce the proximity of His glorification, that is, of the spread of the Kingdom of Heaven over the whole earth—that glorious dominion, surpassing in extent and duration Alexander's world-empire, which was to be preceded by the apparent defeat of His teachings, in the Passion, in whose battle-fires were forged the mighty spiritual bonds which since have bound the world to God in lasting victory. Of a truth, it had been ordained by an all-wise Providence that the spear-points of Macedonian phalanxes should open the world to Christianity.

Granville, Wis.

J. SIMON, O. S. M.

²⁹ The inherent defects of Hellenism, such as hedonism, indifferentism, were of course fought against by Christianity from the very outset, but eventually, in Neo-Platonism, became the last trench held by paganism against the Church.

³⁰ John xii., 20-33; "But Jesus answering them said: 'The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified. . . . Amen, amen, I say to you: unless the grain of wheat, falling into the ground, die, itself remaineth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. . . . Father, glorify Thy name!' A voice therefore came from heaven: 'I have both glorified it and will glorify it again.' . . . 'Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, when I shall be raised up from the earth, will draw all things to myself.'"

ST. PAUL AND HELLENISM: A STUDY.

IT is almost a century ago that the Pauline Epistles were first subjected to the piercing rays of the search-light of historical criticism. The Tübingen school, basing its historico-exegetical method wholly on the postulates of Hegelian evolutionism, retained only the four great Epistles of St. Paul as genuine. For in the world of thought as well as in nature struggle is the condition of progress. The idea generates its own negation, and these opposites resolve themselves into a higher unity which, though another being, is only the idea from which another procession begins. In the early Church the *thesis* was the preaching of the first Apostles, represented by St. Peter; of this St. Paul was the living antithesis, and of these two contrary tendencies Catholicism was the result. Guided by such principles as these, the disciples of Bauer proclaimed as apocryphal and as belonging to a later date all those Epistles of St. Paul which do not breathe strong opposition to Judeo-Christianity, and which are conciliatory in tone or mild in polemic. But nowadays, however, it is only among rather old-fashioned theologians that these elaborate discussions about authenticity are still maintained. Much less does any one give serious consideration to the hypercritical and radical Holland school, represented especially by W. C. Van Mavor and W. S. Smith, of Tulane University, New Orleans, which, developing the above-mentioned principles to their logical consequences, denied the Pauline authorship of all the Epistles ascribed to him.

But while the Epistles of St. Paul have indeed issued triumphantly from the test and scrutiny of the most acute theologians of the last century, critics have found another way of disposing of the great Apostle according to their own satisfaction. It is now their aim to show that his writings are simply a patchwork of odds and ends from the opinions of others. No man, we are told, excels others beyond certain arbitrarily fixed limits, and if his actual achievement is not explicable by what others have thought or done before him, much that history ascribes to him must be denied as his. Heredity and environment, according to the verdict of these modern scholars, count for more than individuality. Hence they represent St. Paul's Christianity as a syncretism pure and simple, composed of elements borrowed from every conceivable source, and moulded into a superficial unity and system by the forceful personality of the Apostle. Of any relation to Christ, the Founder, of any inheritance from the primitive Apostolic Church, of any

product of his own experience and reflection there is hardly a trace left.

Keeping these considerations in view, we may now consider some of the ideas which St. Paul is said to have borrowed. While it is customary to regard the Jewish side of St. Paul's nature as the foundation on which his whole character was built and as the strongest and most determining part of his mind, several modern scholars and writers challenge this assumption. It is to Hellenism, we are told, that he is chiefly indebted. In the first place it is mentioned that St. Paul was educated at the Tarsian universities, which ranked next after Athens and Alexandria,¹ and that his Epistles show that he had studied Stoicism, was at least acquainted with its leading doctrines, and had read some of its authors.² "The Pauline thought," says Sir W. Ramsey,³ "is wholly inconceivable in a mere narrow Hebrew and wholly inexplicable without an education in Greek philosophy." In consequence of this environment St. Paul is further represented as a liberal son of the Dispersion. "The Tarsian influences," says the same author,⁴ "marked out Paul already before his birth, as the man who was destined to be the Apostle to the Gentiles" (Gal. i., 15-16), and elsewhere he says, "The crowning glory of Tarsus, the reason for its undying interest to the whole world is that it was the one city which was suited by its equipoise between the Asiatic and Western spirit to mould the character of the great Hellenist Jew."⁵ Similarly, in the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" Dr. Allan Menzies and the Rev. William Edie in their article, "St. Paul," which is in reality a veiled and inconsistent attack upon the historicity of the Acts, from the very outset set before us St. Paul the Hellenist almost to the entire exclusion of St. Paul the Jew. We are told how he would regard the Gentiles with a liberal eye, how he would hear Cynic and Stoic doctrines at the street corners and so pick up their tricks of rhetoric, how he would take note of the religious rites of heathenism; and would learn something of the principal deities of Tarsus. And the authors sum up their conclusions as follows: "Of a Jewish training at Jerusalem it is harder to find traces in his work;" "of rabbinic method there is little trace in Paul."⁶ The critics, taking for granted the two points just mentioned, proceed thereupon to point out how there is scarcely a single important

¹ Sir W. Ramsey: "The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day," pp. 40-49. (Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1914).

² Rackham: "Acts of the Apostles," p. 306. (Methuen: London, 1912).

³ The Cities of St. Paul, p. 34. (Armstrong: New York, 1908).

⁴ "The Teachings of Paul," p. 31.

⁵ "The Cities of St. Paul," p. 235.

⁶ Vol. IX., p. 691. (Scribner's: New York, 1914).

passage in St. Paul's Epistles which is not actually derived from or at least paralleled in Stoicism, Platonism, Philonism, or the mystery religions. His ideas about the necessity of education in Christian life, his philosophy of history, his doctrines concerning freedom and universalism are all to be attributed especially to Hellenism. "Previous comparisons," says J. Weiss, "have not sufficiently appreciated that which may be stated in one word as Paul's Hellenism."⁷ This school which would explain much of the Apostle's writings as the product of Hellenism is a considerable one in Germany, while in England it is represented by Professor Percy Gardner,⁸ and in Canada by Professor Morgan.⁹

The "point d'appui" of those who maintain the advanced classic culture of St. Paul at Tarsus are three quotations which are incessantly adduced. The first is the hexameter from the poem on "Oracles," written, according to St. Jerome, by the Cretan poet Epimenides in stern and contemptuous depreciation of his countrymen: "The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies."¹⁰ It was quoted by Collimachus in the "Hymn of Zeus" and was well known in antiquity. For the Cretans were among the three very bad K's of olden times. They were called liars because they claimed that the tomb of Zeus was on their island; the original Greek word, moreover, meant to "tell lies." Of their ferocity, gluttony, drunkenness and sensuality and above all their greed, ample testimonies are quoted.¹² This stinging line St. Paul applied to the Cretans in general as well as to those disorderly, prating and self-deceiving Jewish Christians who for the sake of filthy lucre turn whole families upside down. It is just such a national characterization as might pass from mouth to mouth and become thus a tag of the marketplace. The second is a half-hexameter in which he reminds his audience in the speech on the Areopagus that certain also of their native poets had said: "For we are also His offspring."¹³ This is a recognized commonplace of heathen insight to which many parallels could be quoted. St. Paul might well have heard in a chance conversation with the Stoic philosophers without being once obliged to unroll a classical papyrus. The quotation is taken from the "Phænomena" of Aratus, who was a Cilician, and most probably a Tarsian, and is also found in Cleanthes' "Hymn to Jove." The third is the moral warning to the Corinthians to awake to righteousness out of their drunken dream of disbelief, and break off the

⁷ "Paul and Jesus," p. 59 ff. (Harper: New York, 1909).

⁸ "The Religious Experience of Paul." (Williams & Norgate, London, 1913).

⁹ "The Religion and Theology of Paul." (Scribner's: New York, 1915).

¹⁰ Titus i., 12.

¹² "Cretenses spem pecuniae secuti." (Liv. xlv., 45).

¹³ Acts xvii., 28.

sinful habits which it engendered: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."¹⁴ This is one of those common sententious pieces of morality, a proverbial gnome, which in all probability Meander in his "Thais" had appropriated from some lost tragedy of Euripides. But St. Paul most likely heard it in common parlance, or saw it inscribed on one of the Hermæ at Tarsus and Athens.

Several points in connection with the above quotations deserve our further attention. A remarkable thing is that all three of the quotations are found in at least two poets each, and, secondly, that two of them occur at the very beginning of the "Hymn of Zeus." It is likewise noteworthy that in the quotation from Meander, or Euripides, the great majority of the MSS. give a reading which may certainly be regarded as genuine, since no one would alter the correct metre if it had been given in the original manuscript. Hence St. Paul was unfamiliar with or indifferent to so common a rhythm as the iambic verse. This is the more surprising in view of the fact that St. Paul was a man of remarkable receptivity. His retentive memory is traceable in the extent to which he is constantly haunted by a word, and in the new and often rare expressions which are found in every one of his Epistles, and which show a mind keenly susceptible to impressions derived from the circumstances around him, and from those with whom he came into contact. He is, furthermore, a habitual quoter, often weaving into one brief quotation the verbal reminiscences of several passages.¹⁸ Except in Epistles intended mainly for Gentile Christians,¹⁹ to whom Old Testament quotations would have been unintelligible, he can hardly write five sentences in succession without a Biblical reference. The utter absence of any similar use of even the noblest of the classic writers is a proof that he intentionally neglected them, or what is more probable, was wholly unacquainted with them. For who that has read St. Paul can believe that he had ever studied Homer or Æschylus or Sophocles? Would there in a writer who often "thinks in quotations" be no allusion to epic or tragic poetry in Epistles written at Athens and at Corinth? Had St. Paul been a reader of Aristotle, would he have argued in the style which he adopts in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans? Had he been a reader of Plato would the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians have carried in it not the faintest allusions to the guesses of Phædo?

Although the notion, therefore, that St. Paul was a classical scholar is a mere delusion, can it still be maintained that, because

¹⁴ I. Cor. xv., 33.

¹⁸ Rom. I., 24; iv., 17; ix., 33; x., 18; I. Cor. vi.

¹⁹ I. and II. Thess., Phil., Col.

of the spirit and surroundings amid which he was reared, he was a liberal Jew of the Diaspora, a Hellenist in the true sense? In this regard it must be conceded that one of the influences exercised on the Jews by the Dispersion was that they became more cosmopolitan in their views. In the first place, there were many beautiful and great lessons to be learned from the better aspects of the heathen world. Thus Athens in her unique attainments had left the world an immortal heritage, for it was there that, for example, the human form, sedulously trained, attained its most exquisite and winning beauty; there that the human intellect displayed its utmost subtlety; there that art reached its most consummate perfection; there that poetry uttered its sweetest and sublimest strains; there that philosophy adapted to the most perfect means of human expression its deepest thoughts. So, too, Rome had her own lessons to teach of dignity, of law and of government. Then again commerce tended preëminently to make the Jew broadminded. When the innate tendency of the race, curbed first by the Mosaic law and then by the influence of the prophets, had been removed, the Jew flung himself with ardor into a career from which he was hitherto restrained. And this busy intercourse with different cities wrought in turn a further change in his opinions. A Jewish rabbi might be ignorant of everything except his *Halacha*, but a Hellenist soon learned to feel that—

“All knowledge is not couch’d in Moses’ law,
The Pentateuch, or what the prophets wrote;
The Gentiles also know, and write and teach
To admiration, taught by Nature’s light.”²⁰

These more intelligent Jews were not content with an infructuous Rabbinism. And hence it is not surprising that they desired to harmonize the Jewish and Hellenistic idiosyncrasies and to represent the facts of their history and the institutions of their religion in such an aspect as would least awaken the contempt of the nations among whom they lived. Such was the main object of Josephus, besides many pre-Christian writers, in his “Antiquities,” and traces of a similar tendency are to be found in the “Stromata” of Clement of Alexandria and in the “Præparatio Evangelica” of Eusebius. The latter devotes several books to the exposition of the excellence of the Hebrew system, and demonstrates the proposition that Moses and the prophets lived before the greatest Greek writers, and that these drew their knowledge from the former.²¹ Similarly Clement tells us that the “virtues delineated in Moses supplied the Greeks

²⁰ Milton: “Par. Reg.” IV., p. 225.

²¹ “Præparatio Evangelica,” vii., 14; viii., 10; xii., 12; In Minge’s “Opera” III.

with the rudiments of the whole department of morals," that the Greeks plagiarized the miracles in the Scriptures and related them as prodigies of Hellenic mythology, that Miltiades imitated the generalship of Moses, etc.²² But in this attempt to prove that all Greek wisdom was derived from Jewish sources, there was a tendency among the advanced Hellenists to adopt unauthorized additions to their history and to that style of exegesis which, since it deduced anything out of nothing, nullified the real significance of the Scriptures. This naturally gave rise to bitter antagonism between them and the Hebrews, who regarded these allegorical interpretations, this spirit of toleration for pagan systems, as an incipient revolt from Mosaism thinly disguised under a hybrid phraseology.

But strictly speaking this can be said only with regard to the more educated Jews, while even in their case it was the original Jewish element of their character that predominated.²³ This latter was true, in a still higher degree, of the great mass of the Jewish people. The Jews, as a nation, have ever shown an almost miraculous vitality, and far from being denationalized by a home among the heathen, have only been confirmed in the intensity of their patriotism and their faith. One of the chief means for preserving the faith of their fathers was the regular meetings for worship in the synagogues on the Sabbath. St. Paul in the course of his travels through Asia Minor and Greece everywhere met with Jewish synagogues, as for example, in Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Ephesus, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens and in Corinth.²⁴ Where the Jews were more numerous, as was the case in Damascus, Salamis and Alexandria, there were several synagogues. Similarly, the prescriptions regarding the temple tribute were most scrupulously complied with by the Jews of the Dispersion. But nothing contributed so much to cement the bond of union between the dispersion and the mother country as the regular pilgrimages which Jews from all parts of the world made to Jerusalem on festival occasions. And at the same time, they devoted themselves with all the ardor of self-conscious pride to keep the minutest observance of their law and ritual, in order thus to repair past centuries of rebellion and indifference, and to earn the fulfillment of the great promise of the Messias. Their faithfulness was especially due to the work of the scribes, who directed all worship and religious activities toward Jerusalem. With these it was a point of conscience to maintain the institutions

²² "Stromata" i., 24; ii., 18; vi., 3; Wilson's translation Vol. I., p. 456; Vol. II., pp. 47-57; 319sq. (T. and T. Clark: Edinburgh).

²³ Schurer: "The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ." Div. II., Vol. II., pp. 281-91. (T. and T. Clark: Edinburgh, 1885).

²⁴ Acts: ix., 20; xiii., 5; xiii., 14; xiv., 1; xviii., 19.

which their heathen neighbors attacked with every weapon of raillery and scorn. These very circumstances, however, tended to produce a marked degeneracy of the religious spirit. The minute concentration on the dead letter of documents and the ritualism of service became idolatry only in another form. In fact, among vast masses of the Jewish people religion sank almost into fetishism. It bound the nation hand and foot to the corpse of meaningless tradition and lost all power over the conscience and heart.

This exclusiveness of their prejudices, the peculiarity of their institutions, the jealousy of their successes, could not but create hatred, suspicion and contempt in many countries. There seems to be no limit to the curiosity, disgust and contempt with which the Jews were regarded in ancient times. Reference to them in the literature of classical antiquity is full of absurd calumnies and biting sarcasm. Men did not hesitate to circulate against them the most ridiculous and abominable stories, stories that had been invented especially by the literati of Alexandria. The exodus, above all, had in the course of time been worked up into a complete romance, picturing Moses, the priest of Heliopolis, as a leader of a band of lepers who were expelled by an Egyptian king and sent into the stone quarries or into the wilderness. Cicero heaps scorn and indignation upon them in his oration for the extortionate and tyrannous Flaccus,²⁵ and in that on the consular provinces calls them "a race born for slavery."²⁶ Horace sneers at their proselytism, their circumcision and their Sabbaths,²⁷ and Seneca calls them a "most abandoned race."²⁸ Juvenal²⁹ flings scornful allusion to their squalor, beggary, superstition, cheaterly and idleness, and Celsus abuses them as jugglers and vagabonds. Tacitus in his history reproaches them with low cunning and strong hatred of all but their own.³⁰ And no passage of the ancient authors, full as they are of dislike for the Jews, expresses so undisguised a bitterness, or is so thoroughly expressive of the way in which the Romans regarded this singular people as that in which the same Tacitus relates how Tiberius banished four thousand freedmen "infected with that superstition" into Sardinia to keep down the brigands of that island, with the distinct hope that the unhealthy climate might help to get rid of them "et si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum."³¹ As a result of this bitterness of feeling there were con-

²⁵ Cic. "pro Flacco," xxviii.

²⁶ "De Prov. Cons.," v.

²⁷ "Sat." I, iv., 143.

²⁸ Aug. "De Civ. Del.," vii., 36.

²⁹ "Sat." vi., 542-547; xiv., 103-104.

³⁰ Hist. v., 2-5.

³¹ "Ann." ii., 85. Gill: "Notices of the Jews by Classic Authors," ad loc. cit. (London: 1872).

stant feuds and bloodsheds between the Jews and Gentiles. Josephus tells us that there were frequent sanguinary encounters between the two, especially in Alexandria, Antioch, Cyrene, Cæsarea, Ptolemais, Tyre, Hippos and Godara.³²

Now, were the Jews of Tarsus exempt from this hatred which was already so virulent among the Romans of that day? The Jews of Tarsus were very numerous,³³ having first settled there as part of the free governing city which Antiochus Epiphanes founded in 171 B. C. The Jews at this time dwelt in considerable bodies in various Hellenic cities, where they did not possess any rights as burghers citizens, but formed a simple association with synagogue or place of prayer by the seashore or on the bank of a stream (Philippi) which aroused attention and attracted proselytes, though it was hated by the majority of the populace. The Jews of Tarsus, however, were not mere resident strangers, but citizens with full burgher privileges,³⁴ belonging to one of the tribes into which a Hellenic city was divided when it was founded or enlarged. No man could be a citizen except as a member of the tribe, and the tribal bond was intimate and sacred. The members were closely bound to one another by common religious rites which were performed at every meeting of the tribe. There was no possible way by which Jews who retained any religious or patriotic feeling or national pride could become citizens of a Greek city except by belonging to a tribe set apart in which they could control the religious rites and identify them with the service of the synagogue. No Jew could become a member of the ordinary tribe because he would have been obliged to participate in a pagan ritual, which even the most degraded Jew would never face. In fact, Epiphanius tells us that no Greek or Samaritan in Tarsus was allowed to live in the district of Galilee where the Jews were the strongest, so bitterly were the latter opposed to every other nationality. These Jewish colonists of Tarsus were a strongly Hebraistic body. The restoration of Hebrew nationalism by the Machabean revolt must have exercised a powerful influence upon them. Being within easy reach of Jerusalem they would revisit as often as possible the capital city at the ceremony in the month of Nisan, and thus fan into a flame their national pride.

All that we hear, therefore, about the Cilician Jews shows that they were intensely loyal, for we find a synagogue of theirs at Jerusalem mentioned in the Acts,³⁵ and that they were as capable

³² "Wars of the Jews," II., 18, 7; VII., 3, 3; II., 13, 7; II., 18, 5; in Whiston's: *Josephus' Complete Works*, pp. 638, 765, 624. (New York, 1853).

³³ Epiphanius, I., pp. 411-427, Migne, Vol. 41; Rom. xvi., 7, 11, 21.

³⁴ Acts xxi., 39. Philostratus: "The Life of Apollonius of Tyana," VI., 34; Conybeare's translation, Vol. II. (Macmillan: New York, 1912).

³⁵ vi., 9.

as any of their brethren of repaying hate with double hatred, and scorn with double scorn. They would be the more likely to do so from the condition of things around them. The belief in paganism was more firmly rooted in the provinces than in Italy and was especially vigorous at Tarsus. Though the seat of a celebrated letter of schools, this city was the metropolis of a province so low in universal estimation that it was counted among the three most villainous K's of antiquity—Kappadokia, Kilikia, Krete. What religion there was at this period had chiefly assumed an orgiastic and Oriental character. The wild, fanatical enthusiasms of the Eastern cults shook with new sensations of mad sensuality the jaded despair of Aryan paganism. What indignant loathing and patriotic disgust must have been awakened in the hearts of a people when they saw that at the main festival of this degraded cult the effeminate Sardanapalus and the masculine Semiramis were worshiped with rites which externally resembled the pure rejoicings of the feast of Tabernacles. By the gates of Tarsus, at Anchialus, Paul could see the idol of this shameless religion. There a marble statue represented Sardanapalus as a woman clad in the robe of a Lydian girl, with arms outstretched, and snapping his fingers with ail a reveler's abandonment to debauchery. Underneath an inscription in the Assyrian tongue expressed the whole moral of this cult: "Drink, eat and enjoy; all else is naught."³⁶ The result which such spectacles left upon the mind of St. Paul could not have been one of tolerance or blunted insensibility. He who would know what was the aspect of paganism to one who had seen it in its characteristic developments need only read that most terrible passage of all Scripture, where under the glare of holy wrath we see paganism in all its wickedness, pollution and deformity.³⁷ There we see how pagan society in its hideous disintegration became one foul disease of unnatural depravity. Its heart was surcharged with every element of vileness, with impurity in its most abysmal degradations, with hatred in its meanest developments, with insolence culminating in the deliberate search for fresh forms of evil, with cruelty and falsity in their most repulsive features. And the worst crime of all was their devilish delight in human depravity and ruin, and a positive pleasure in those who practiced the same.

Besides this horror inspired by the lowest aspects of heathen life, St. Paul likewise derived from his acquaintance with it his deep conviction that earthly knowledge has no necessary connection with heavenly wisdom. Strabo, in giving us a glimpse of the professorial world at Tarsus in the days of pagan decadence, shows it

³⁶ Strabo's *Geography* xiv., 5, 9; J. Wolters ed. Vol. II., p. 988.

³⁷ Rom. i., 18-32.

as it was in the days of the Poggios and Filelfos of the Renaissance, a clique of narrow, unscrupulous, impure and gossiping savants.³⁸ In this city of great tradesmen and scholars alike, the philosophers and grammarians were more noisily active than the traffickers. Philostratus tells us how they used to sit in bands along the docks of the Cydnus, clattering like "so many water-fowl."³⁹ How often St. Paul, coming out of the ghetto at Tarsus, must have drawn near one of these knots of philosophers and marveled at their trivial discussions. And how frivolous this apotheosis of pedantism must have appeared to him. It was no doubt his Tarsian reminiscences which added emphasis to his reiterated warnings that the wise men of heathendom "became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened, for professing themselves to be wise they became foolish,"⁴⁰ that "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written: 'I will catch the wise in their own craftiness.' And again: 'The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise that they are vain.'"⁴¹ He reiterates again and again that the Greeks seek after wisdom and regard the Cross as foolishness, yet that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and that God has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise; and that when in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believe.⁴²

Not only was St. Paul opposed to the wisdom of the Greeks, but whenever he indulges in any autobiographical reflections never is there a trace of the Hellenist to be detected, but he is always careful in his Epistles to demonstrate the purity of his Hebrew descent and the strictness of his Judaism. In his Epistle to the Philippians,⁴³ when enumerating his advantages according to the flesh, he makes the following significant gradation: unlike the proselyte he was circumcised the eighth day and thereby belongs to the family of Abraham; in this family he belongs to Jacob's descendants, the race of Israel; within this race he has sprung from the faithful tribe of Benjamin, which in the schism after Solomon's death united to the tribe of Juda to form the kingdom in which the great religious traditions of the Old Testament were kept in all their purity; finally among the descendants of these two Jewish tribes he belongs to the sect of the Pharisees, who, unlike the Sadducees, interpreted the Law more religiously and observed it more diligently; far from being a

³⁸ O. c. xiv., 5, 14, p. 992.

³⁹ O. c. i., 7; Vol. I., p. 17.

⁴⁰ Rom. i., 21, 22.

⁴¹ I. Cor. iii., 19, 20.

⁴² I. Cor. i., 22, 23, 25, 27; ii., 14, iv., 10.

⁴³ iii., 4-6.

Hellenist he was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews"; as regards Judaic enthusiasm, he had even persecuted the Church, and as regards legal righteousness he proved himself above all reproach. A similar gradation he makes out in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, where he claims to be an adherent of the same nationality, a member of the same theocracy, and a sharer of the same Messianic hopes as his Judaizing opponents of later days. "Are they Hebrews [in language and tradition]? So am I. Are they Israelites [in creed and descent]? So am I. Are they of the seed of Abraham [partakers of the Messianic hopes]? So am I."⁴⁴

He sprang from a family in which piety was hereditary,⁴⁵ for his forefathers were good Jews who worshiped the one true God. Hence his parents being true Israelites could have no intercourse with the schools of Tarsus and the teachers of perdition. The Jews who were accustomed to maintain one master for every twenty-five students were too numerous at Tarsus, as we have said above, not to have a school of their own. The instruction of their children began with the family and school, and was further carried on by the synagogue. Josephus states that Moses already had laid down prescriptions for the education of the Jewish boys. "He commanded to instruct children in the elements of knowledge (reading and writing); to teach them to walk according to the laws, and to know the deeds of their forefathers—the latter that they might imitate them, the former that growing up with the laws they might not transgress them nor have the excuse of ignorance."⁴⁶ Similarly, Philo tells us that the Jews "are taught so as to speak from their swaddling clothes by their parents, teachers and those who bring them up, even before instruction in the sacred laws and the unwritten customs, to believe in God, the one Father and Creator of the world."⁴⁷ Moreover, in the year 64 Joshua ben Gamla, the high priest, enacted that teachers of boys should be appointed in every province and in every town—a measure which presupposes a longer existence of boys' schools—and that children of the age of six or seven years should be brought to them.⁴⁸ To such a school, therefore, St. Paul was ushered after his father had taught him to stammer that most Jewish of all prayers, the *Shema*: "Hearken, O Israel, the Lord our God is one." The earliest instruction was in the inculcation of the text of Scripture. And since in the case of written Scripture in distinction from oral tradition great importance was attached to its actually being read, elementary instruction in the

⁴⁴ xi., 22.

⁴⁵ II. Tim. i., 3.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Schurer o. c., p. 47.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 48.

law was necessarily combined with instruction in reading. The difficult art of writing was less general, however. In this connection it is worthy of note that the Jews in the education of their young were so scrupulous that they held concerning books of their own hagiographs, such, for instance, as the book of Esther, that they were doubtful reading. They would not allow their youth even to open the Song of Solomon before the age of twenty-one. Nothing is therefore more certain than that "a Pharisee of Pharisees," even though his boyhood was spent in heathen Tarsus, would have been allowed barely to know the existence of the soundest portion of Greek letters, if even these.

That St. Paul was to the very heart a Jew—a Jew in culture, a Jew in faith, is clear from almost every verse of his Epistles. Though he wrote in Greek, it is by no means the Greek of the schools, or the Greek which in spite of his educational antitheses and paronomasias would have been found tolerable by the rhetoricians of his native city; in fact, a Tarsian professor or a philosopher of Athens would have ridiculed his Hebraic peculiarities, awkward anacolutha, harshly mingled metaphors, strange forms and irregular constructions. He reckons time by the Hebrew calendar. He makes constant allusions to Jewish customs, Jewish laws and Jewish festivals. While, indeed, he maintains that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither circumcision or uncircumcision, but a new creation,⁴⁹ yet he by no means implies that he would be willing to barter his connection with the chosen race. When we read the numerous passages in which he vaunts his participation in the hopes of Israel, his claim to be a fruitful branch in the rich olive tree of Jewish life; when we hear him speak of their adoption, their Shekinah, their covenants, their Law, their worship, their promises, their fathers, their oracles of God, their claim of kinsmanship with the humanity of Christ,⁵⁰ we can well understand that the same patriotism burned in the spirit, the same blood flowed in the veins of not only Saul the Pharisee, but also of Paul the prisoner of the Lord. Like the mourning prophet of Anathoth, who at one moment forcibly expresses his approval of the judgment pronounced upon the blood-stained city, but at the very next prays to the Lord to let the cup pass from Jerusalem, and wrestles like Jacob for a blessing upon Sion, so, too, St. Paul, though on the one hand he denounces the Jews as murderers of the Lord and of the prophets, displeasing God and the common enemies of man,⁵¹ yet on the other he declares that he could wish himself

⁴⁹ Gal. vi., 15; iii., 27, 28; II. Cor. v. 17.

⁵⁰ Rom. ix., 4-5.

⁵¹ I. Thess. ii., 15.

to be anathema from Christ for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh.⁵²

We likewise have some traces in St. Paul's Epistles of those moral struggles and spiritual experiences through which he must have passed during the long period in which "he lived as a Pharisee." We know well the kind of life that lies behind that expression, the minute and intense scrupulosity of the observance of the law and ritual. And for Saul there was no distinction between the relative importance of the written and oral, of the moral and ceremonial law. To every precept—and they were countless—unqualified obedience was due: "Cursed is every one that abideth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them"—that certainly represents his original position. If on his accuracy of observance depended the coming of the Messiah, then surely the Messiah should come, for he tells the Galatians: "I made progress in the Jews' religion above many of my equals in my own nation, being more abundantly zealous for the traditions of my fathers."⁵³ So fierce indeed was his zeal that he even broke away from the advice of his more tolerant master on the occasion of the Apostles' trial before the Sanhedrin,⁵⁴ and took a leading part in the persecution of the Way. Yet we trace in his Epistles how bitterly he felt the hollowness of outward obedience, how awful and how burdensome had been to him the "curse of the Law," and how troublesome these years were to him. Even when many years of struggling and suffering are over we still catch in his Epistles the mournful echoes of those days of stress and storm. We hear them when he talks of the "curse of the Law," a menacing bond which God had forever canceled by nailing it to the Cross,⁵⁵ a feud between Jew and Gentile, hindering access to the Father.⁵⁶ We hear them when he tells us of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit, between the law of sin in his members and that law of God which though holy and just he had found unto death.⁵⁷ If after he had found Christ, after he learns that "there is no condemnation to those that are in Christ Jesus," he still felt the power and continuity of the inferior law striving to degrade his life into that captivity to the law of sin from which Christ had set him free, through what hours of anguish must he not have passed when he knew of no other dealing of God with his soul than the impossible and deathful commandment.

Never, therefore, does St. Paul in glancing at his pre-Christian

⁵² Rom. ix., 3.

⁵³ Gal. i., 14, Acts, xxii.

⁵⁴ Acts v., 38-39.

⁵⁵ Col. ii., 10, 14, 15, 20.

⁵⁶ Ephes. ii., 14-16.

⁵⁷ Gal. iii., 21.

career make even the faintest allusion to his life in Hellenism. Accordingly, the distinctive contributions of the Greeks to his thought need not detain us very long. In the first place, we are told that St. Paul owes to the Greeks his philosophy of history. "The will of God is the soul of history. Such is the philosophic theory of Paul. To him the process of human affairs was the gradual evolution of the Divine will,"⁵⁸ says Ramsey. And he continues, "this is a thoroughly Hellenic way of expressing the truth. Greek poetry and Greek philosophy in their highest and most characteristic manifestations always picture history after this fashion, beginning from the open paragraph of the Iliad, where the confused and tangled web of the Trojan War is described as a series of steps by which the will of the Supreme God worked itself out to its consummation."⁵⁹ Here, then, the same author continues, "we meet the Greek-trained Paul."⁶⁰ And elsewhere he says that investigation of this kind St. Paul learned "above all at Tarsus. This was the great debt that he owed to the Greeks (Rom. i., 14). The Jewish mind was content to recognize the infinite power of God and the utter powerlessness of man before Him. That is the manner in which God deals with man—the Semitic mind seemed naturally careless."⁶¹ In this connection it might be interesting to ask when exactly did this idea affect his mind? His career in Jerusalem most probably began when he was thirteen years of age, for he says that he was "brought up"⁶² in this city at the feet of Gamaliel. Ramsey, however, in order to make his theory more plausible, places St. Paul's departure from Tarsus at a much later date.⁶³ He bases his contention on the meaning of the term "youth" found in St. Paul's statement in the Acts: "And my life indeed from my *youth* which was from the beginning among my own nation in Jerusalem."⁶⁴ This term in the Greek language has the vaguest sort of meaning. Thirteen, however, was the age at which a Jewish boy, if he were destined for the position of a rabbi, entered the school of some great master. Saul could not obtain at Tarsus the course of study required for an interpreter of the sacred books, an administrator of justice and a pleader before the courts of Israel. Accordingly, scholars⁶⁵ are unanimously agreed that when he reached his thirteenth year, the age at which a child became a "son of the law," or,

⁵⁸ "Teaching of Paul," p. 91.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶¹ "The Cities of St. Paul," pp. 78-79.

⁶² Acts xxii., 3.

⁶³ "Pauline Studies," pp. 67-69 (G. H. Doran: New York, 1914).

⁶⁴ Acts xxvi., 4.

⁶⁵ Prat: "La Theologie de Saint Paul," p. 26. Vol. I. (Beauchesne: Paris, 1912). Jacquier: "Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament," p. 51. (Gabaldi: Paris, 1911).

in other words, was initiated into the numberless traditions of his ancestors, he was sent to Jerusalem to study under the famous Rabban Gamaliel, and lived probably during that time with his married sister. Was, therefore, a youth of thirteen, even a precocious one, likely to think much about such questions as the fore-ordained purpose of God working itself out in history? If this feature of Greek civilization influenced him at all during his visit to Tarsus subsequent to his conversion, there was here no contribution of a new element of thought, but only a confirmation and expansion of what was his already as a Christian believer. And even if we admit that St. Paul lived at Tarsus until about his twentieth year, I do not think it probable, from what has been said above, that he would have been allowed to come more under the Hellenistic influences of Tarsus. Furthermore, the idea of the "*plenitudo temporis*" was by no means confined to the Greeks, but was also prevalent among the Jews; in fact it was quite universal. All things pointed to the close of one great æon in the world's history, and the dawn of another which should be the last. The very heathen world yearned for a deliverer, and felt that there could be no other end to the physical misery and moral death which had spread itself over their hollow societies. The expectation that a healing light would break forth from the East is thus expressed in the "Fourth Eclogue" of Virgil:

"The base degenerate iron offspring ends,
A golden progeny from heaven descends.
The jarring nations he in peace shall bind
And with paternal virtues rule mankind."

The firm persuasion that it was fated for the empire of the world at that time to devolve on some one who should go forth from Judea, traceable no doubt to the prophecy of Micheas v., 2, and spread through the Septuagint among the pagan nations, found echo in many writers of the time.⁶⁶ All felt that a purifying flame would soon dispel the deep midnight brooding over the chosen people and the Gentile world. Ramsey himself admits that the Jewish way of thinking is not entirely out of keeping with the Greek idea, but that "it starts from a different point of view, picturing God as the Potter who deals at His will with His vessels and His clay, and advancing from this side toward the same ultimate truth."⁶⁷ Further elements which St. Paul is said to have derived from Hellenism in his reorganization of society are the necessity of education in the Christian life and the idea of freedom which he

⁶⁶ Tacitus: "*Hist.*" V. xii., 3; Suetonius: "*Lives of the Cæsars.*" Aug. xciv. Vesp. iv.

⁶⁷ "*Teaching of Paul,*" p. 92.

champions in his Epistle to the Galatians. Freedom, we are told, is nothing but the growth of education. "If Jesus had 'freedom' and 'education' in His heart," says Ramsey, "it does not follow that His disciples caught those ideas and worked them out. How was it and in virtue of what education and character was it that Paul caught this feature in the teaching of Jesus? There had to be something in the mind of Paul to respond to the teaching of Jesus."⁶⁸ Modern criticism surely is shifting grounds. Formerly we were told that the Apostles voluntarily idealized the facts of the Gospel, but here it is maintained that even St. Paul was so ignorant that he could not interpret the Master's message without an education in Greek philosophy. But I do not think that it is necessary to go to any foreign theologies to explain these contributions of St. Paul to Christianity. They were due to the reality of his Christianity, to his great spiritual power and insight. Faith, love, discipleship, all expressing his devotion to Christ as his Redeemer, was the key to all that he taught. This faith taught him what was meant by the life in Christ, namely, spiritual freedom. Through it he grasped the transitoriness of the Law; through it he received the gift of the Spirit, and so knew how imperfect was the idea of the Law, and through this faith he grasped more fully the universality of the Gospel.

Finally, it is suggested that St. Paul owed his universalism to the fact of his living as a Roman citizen amid Greek culture.⁶⁹ But may not Paul have taken this idea from the teachings of Christ? Ramsey himself admits that "the teaching of Jesus rose high above such a narrow idea as that of Jewish exclusiveness."⁷⁰ We must likewise not forget that the universality of salvation and the union of all nations with the one God was the teaching of the prophets of Israel, and that consequently he drew from the Old Testament those ideas of which he afterwards worked out the full development. Nay, did not the Christian salvation, as St. Paul understood it, necessarily involve universalism? Did he not persecute it just because of its dangerous latitudinarianism, because it showed signs that it would break down the exclusiveness of Judaism and interfere with the rigor and supremacy of the legal system? The Gospel and Judaism had always seemed to him absolutely and radically opposed. This antithesis existed in his mind before his conversion, and it remained there. When his conscience, however, was laid hold of by God's grace, he was violently and abruptly forced from one extreme to the other. The origin of his universalism is therefore to be found in

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁹ Ramsey: "Cities of St. Paul," pp. 46-47.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

his rigid Pharasaism. And I think that we may safely say that if Saul had been less a Jew, St. Paul the Apostle would have been superficial and his mind less unfettered. As a Pharisee he had the most complete experience of the emptiness of external ceremonies and the crushing yoke of the law. There was no fear that he would ever look back, that he would be tempted to set up again what the grace of God had overthrown.

It would, however, be an exaggeration to conclude that St. Paul was quite unacquainted with Greek culture. That cannot be the case, for his mind was too open. An able man such as he was, with a keenness of sympathy and vividness of insight, traveling through the world of his day, mixing with many classes of persons, could not but be affected by what he saw and heard. Hence the life of the times, its legal, political and economic ideas, its public games, all found echoes in his writings. But while he thus draws his language and imagery from his surroundings, it is a singular fact that he was wholly uninfluenced by the scenes of beauty and majesty amid which he lived and traveled. No voices from the neighboring mountains and seas seemed to mingle with the many and varied tones of his impassioned utterance. In a nature differently constituted they would have been a continual inspiration. The scenes in which the life of David was spent were far less majestic and varied than many of those in which the lot of Paul was cast; yet the Psalms of David are a very handbook of poetic description, while in the Epistles of St. Paul we only breathe the air of the synagogues. So, too, in the discourses and conversations of our Lord we find frequent allusions to the loveliness of the flowers, the joyous carelessness of birds, the shifting winds, the red glow of the morning and evening clouds. But St. Paul's was a soul in which the burning heat of a great transfusing purpose calcined every other thought, desire and admiration. The expulsive power and paramount importance of the mighty spiritual and moral truths which it was his great mission to proclaim prevented him from showing scarcely the faintest gleam of delight in the wonders of nature.

Hence the metaphors that he draws from Hellenic life must have been especially suitable to St. Paul for winning others to Christ and for his becoming all things to all men. Adopting a figure that would have caused a shudder to any Palestinian Pharisee, he compares the transient fashion of the world to the passing scene of a theatrical display,⁷¹ and in other places turns the whole universe into a theatre on the stage of which were displayed the sufferings of the Apostles as a spectacle to angels and to men.⁷² Again we

⁷¹ I. Cor. vii., 31.

⁷² I. Cor. iv., 9.

recognize a man whose thoughts have been enlarged by travel and intercourse in the apparently vivid sympathy with which St. Paul draws some of his favorite metaphors from the vigorous contests of the Grecian games, held especially at Ephesus and Corinth. He says of himself that he is like one of those charioteers of whom his guardsmen so often talked to him when they had returned from the Circus Maximus, leaning forward in his flying car, bending over the shaken rein and goaded steed, forgetting everything, every peril and every competitor as he pressed on for the goal by which sat the judges with the palm garlands that formed the prize.⁷³ Again, we can well imagine how St. Paul, watching how these fair youths do so much, suffer so much, to win a poor withering wreath of pine and parsley, whose greenness had faded before the sun had set, would think of that unfading amaranthine crown of eternal glory which each and all might equally win.⁷⁴

Again, there are some striking resemblances between St. Paul's Epistles and the diatribe, the form of preaching used by the wandering cynic and stoic philosophers to whom the Apostle must have frequently listened in the streets and squares of Tarsus and elsewhere. The salient characteristics of the diatribe, such as the dialogistic form of argument, question and answer, objection foreseen and answered, antithesis and parallelism, appeal to the example of the Greek heroes, comparison and simile, irony, exposition and exhortation, are all to be found in St. Paul's Epistles. But the differences are more numerous than the similarities. Thus the method of question and answer is never developed by St. Paul, as is done in the diatribe, until the climax is reached and final conclusion is drawn. So, too, the parallel method is frequently interrupted by the interpolation of Old Testament quotations and the intrusion of fundamental Pauline doctrines. Then again, there is no approach to the carefully forged scheme of the diatribe with its descriptive and hortative sections and their scientific connections. In fact, in some of St. Paul's Epistles the expository section has no bearing on the hortatory, while in the First Epistle to the Corinthians the two elements are not kept apart at all. St. Paul also differs from the philosopher in not appealing on any large scale to the example of historical personages; his sense of power in Christ is so overwhelming that it is superfluous to set before his hearers a crowd of historical or mythical examples. Nor do we find in him the artistry of the Greek preacher, the wealth of color, the dramatic instinct, the faculty of creating pictures of delightful and degrading scenes, and the jest and the sense of humor are entirely absent. If

⁷³ Phil. iii., 4.

⁷⁴ I. Cor. ix., 24-27.

he uses irony at times, he never pours out such vials of contempt as did the cynic on his philosophical opponent, and he seldom uses vituperation because of the consciousness of his own imperfection. And surely the most inspired of the Apostle's direct exhortations as well as those immortal passages of his of matchless grandeur and passionate emotion owe very little to the Greek address. Whenever he used the Greek form of preaching, it was because this or that point of his would the more easily reach its objective. We can well understand how St. Paul would realize the immense advantage of presenting his Gospel in a city like Corinth, for instance, in a garb which was so familiar to its citizens. And if we are to do justice to his own famous statement, "I have become all things to all men," we must recognize his willingness to put himself "en rapport" with those whom he sought to win for Christ.⁷⁵

But the Hellenic influences are far from being fundamental; they do not touch the life and essence of Paulinism. As I have said above, St. Paul lived in the midst of Greek learning, breathed its atmosphere, and to that extent was conscious of it and acquainted with it, but there is little in the Pauline literature that points to anything like a definite education and training in Greek letters. "The influence of Hellenism over St. Paul," says Rostren, "may have been an unconscious one—the storing in the subliminal self of impressions which in later days flashed back across the threshold."⁷⁶ And far from forgetting that St. Paul was preëminently an "Apostle of Jesus Christ," I have purposely dwelt on the Jewish side of his character, which is strongly portrayed in his Epistles, not indeed with the intention to show that he was a Jew, pure and unalloyed, but to show the impossibility of his deriving from Hellenism those ideas which especially distinguish him as the Apostle of the Gentiles. An unbiased study cannot but lead to the endorsement of Harnack's words that "notwithstanding Paul's Greek culture, his conception of Christianity in its deepest ground is independent of Hellenism."⁷⁷ And if St. Paul borrowed any elements, of whatever nature they may be, he breathed a new spirit into them and brought them into captivity to Christ, whose inestimable riches it was his boast and his mission to proclaim to the Gentiles.

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⁷⁵ I. Cor. ix., 22.

⁷⁶ "Christology of St. Paul," p. 16. (Hodder & Stoughton; London, 1914).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

PAYING THE PIPER POETICAL COMPLIMENTS.

AND

THE WASP AS A LITERARY WIGHT.

"And calling clear and sweet from cove to cove,
The sandpiper, the lonely rocks among,
Makes wistful music, and the singing sea
Sends its strong chorus upward solemnly."

—Celia Thaxter ("In May")

NO DOUBT Celia Thaxter began the custom of saying pretty things about the sandpiper, at least on this side of the water. Wordsworth and James Hogg, on the other side, had complimented their bird on its vocal abilities, also recognized in its nicknames:

"Along the river's stony marge
The sand-lark chants a joyous song."

—William Wordsworth

"The night-wind is still, and the moon in the wane,
The river-lark sings on the verge of the plain;
So longly his plaint, by the motionless reed,
It sounds like an omen or tale of the dead."—James Hogg.

There are many poetical qualities about the bird; indeed, so many that one wonders they have not been referred to more frequently in poems dealing with beach and shore. For instance, their protective coloring, the brown earth and the gray water, sand and foam combined in their browns, grays, blacks and whites:

"Brown pipers run upon the sand
Like shadows."—Charles W. Stoddard ("At Point Lobos")

"The mottled sand-bird running up and down
Amongst the creaking sedge,
Along the crusted beach."
—Elizabeth Stoddard ("The House of Youth")

"Where the quick sandpipers flit
In and out the marl and grit
That seems to breed them, brown as they."
—Robert Browning ("Paracelsus")

And their light, tripping, dainty gait, a running walk at its slowest and a dancing hop at its fastest:

"The sand-snipe skim across the space
Where the old boat finds a resting-place."
—Ernest McGaffey ("The Deserted Boat")

"A thin sandpiper, wild with fright,
Goes into ecstasies of flight."
—Maurice Thompson ("In the Haunts of Bass and Bream")

Probably the best description of the bird's gait is found in Lowell's occasional poem, "At the Commencement Dinner," in which it is used for illustrative purposes rather than for its own sake, yet such is the little mite's charm that the poet couldn't resist making the most of his opportunity to pay it a compliment:

"I've a notion, I think, of a good dinner speech,
Tripping light as a sandpiper over the beach,
Swerving this way and that as the wave of the moment
Washes out its slight trace with a sash of whim's foam on't,
And leaving on memory's rim just a sense
Something graceful had gone by, a live present tense."

Of course, Riley couldn't help finding a whimsical thought in the bird's long legs:

"Snipes the t'other side, where the County Ditch is
Wadin' up and down the aidge like they'd rolled their
britches." —("Down Around the River")

Then there is their migrating flight, when the flocks come up from the South in the spring, musical, gay, almost living on the wing while primping for mates. That mazy coursing back and forth in circles between two points, one being the mate the bird desires to win, the other a good viewpoint directly in front of her eyes, always accompanied by a shrill cry of "Sweet, sweet, sweet," quite thrilling enough to win any piper a wife;

"The flicker of sandpipers in from sea
In gusty flocks that puffed and fled."—C. G. D. Roberts

Spring is a social time with sandpipers, and the meeting place is usually along the seashore or some other good beach where there is room and food for all. The humorist of course cannot avoid letting the world know that the flocks are fond of marshy tracts where insects are to be had in abundance:

"Where late gigantic warriors stood
As thick as pine trees in a wood
Or snipes on Jersey shore,"
—Anon. ("Lines Written in Chicago")

"Wind upon the heath howling was piping,
On the heath and bog, black with many a snipe in."
—Thackeray

Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, does not always put his wisdom in prose form, and in one of his poems, "Lochwinnoch," he mentions the bird's well-known habit of forming in flocks before a storm, as gulls, swallows and other birds do:

"And long-billed snipe, that knows approaching rains."
The cry of the sandpiper race always fits in with its surroundings,

and is a musical thing whenever "Calls the gray sandpiper from the quiet shore," as Celia Thaxter heard it, or

"When but a brown snipe flutters by
With rustling wing and piping cry."—Maurice Thompson

Lord de Tabley, in "A Winter Sketch," includes the item "snipes are calling from the trenches," another poet locates them elsewhere: "flax where snipe calls curlew in the bog." Charles G. D. Roberts, in describing one of his outings, confesses that

"For love of his clear pipe
We've flushed the zigzag snipe."

Even the sound of the wings is music to the poet's ear: "The swamp where hums the dropping snipe," occurs in one of Tennyson's poems. Alexander Hume observes that on "A Summer's Day" this bird doesn't hesitate to join in with better songsters:

"Which soon perceive the little larks,
The lapwing and the snipe,
And tune their songs, like Nature's clerks
O'er meadow, muir and stripe."

Nor can the poet quite forget "the palate-pleasing snite," as Michael Drayton has it, an excellent table bit, though one can hardly bag enough to appease the appetite he works up hunting them.

When it comes to certain species, the Sanderling, or Beach-bird, leads in popularity with the poets. Whittier has two references to it, "the beach-bird seaward flying with his slant wing to the sun," in "The Garrison of Cape Ann," and in "The Wreck of River-mouth":

"The beach-birds dance and the gray gulls wheel
Over a floor of burnished steel."

And indeed, it is a pretty sight, a flock of these little white-breasted birds, feeding just out of reach of the foam-capped waves that come rolling upon the sands;

"The beach-bird on its pearly verge
Follows and flies the whispering surge."—Lowell.

just as a sandpiper is so capable of doing:

"The beach-birds fleet,
With twinkling feet
Hurry and scurry to and fro,
And sip and chat
Of this and that
Which you and I may never know."

—J. W. Chadwick ("By the Sea-Shore")

Sanderling is not a solitary bird, but occurs in either large or small flocks, on sandy beaches, where food is left strewn broadcast by

the waves or by the retreating tide; and, when buried, may be easily probed out again:

“By the beach border, where the breeze
Comes freighted from the briny seas,
By sandy bar and weedy rock,
I frequent meet thy roving flock;
Now hovering o’er the bending sedge,
Now gathered at the ocean edge;
Probing the sands for shrimps and shells
Or worms marine in hidden cells,
A restless and inconstant band,
Forever flitting o’er the sand.”

—Isaac McClellan (“The Little Beach Sanderling”)

The flight is rapid and direct, and when alighting the bird runs a few feet with wings partially extended, which gives it a dainty, airy grace; this Paul B. Hayne describes prettily in the lines, “The wings of ghostly sea-birds gleam through the shimmering suft” (“By the Autumn Sea”). One poet recognizes the fact that the Sanderling is a great traveler, from Alaska to South America, from Labrador to the Hawaiian Islands:

“O, the Sanderling’s lot seems a pleasant one,
When I sit by the fire, through a dreary storm,
He follows the breath of the brine with the sun,
And his year is all summer, and kind, and warm.”

—Eliza Woodworth (“The Sanderling”)

Nor has its sweet, clear, piping cry been neglected:

“Thou little bird, thou dweller by the sea,
Why takest thou its melancholy voice,
And with that boding cry
O’er the waves dost fly?”

—Richard Henry Dana (“The Little Beach-Bird”)

“Even those migratory bands,
The minor poets of the air,
The plover, peep and sanderling,
That hardly can be said to sing,
But pipe along the barren sands;
All these have souls akin to ours!”

—Longfellow (“Tales of a Wayside Inn”)

The Peep, or Least Sandpiper, is the species supposed to be implied in Celia Thaxter’s famous poem, a little bird only five or six inches in length from the tip of the slender beak to the tip of the restless tail:

“I watch him as he skims along,
Uttering his sweet and mourning cry,
He starts not at my fitful song,
Or flash of fluttering drapery.

He has no thought of any wrong;
 He scans me with a fearless eye.
 Stanch friends are we, well tried and strong,
 The little sandpiper and I."

Says John Burroughs: "Of the sandpipers there are many varieties, found upon the coast and penetrating inland along the rivers and water-courses, the smallest of the species, commonly called the 'tip-up,' going up all the mountain brooks and breeding in the sand along their bank; but the characteristics are the same in all, and the eye detects little difference except in size. The walker on the beach sees him running or flitting before him, following up the breakers and picking up the aquatic insects left on the sands; and the trout-fisher along the farthest inland stream likewise intrudes upon its privacy. Flitting along from stone to stone seeking its food, the hind part of its body 'teetering' up and down, its soft gray color blending it with the pebbles and the rocks or else skimming up or down the stream on its long convex wings, uttering its shrill cry, the sandpiper is not a bird of the sea merely and Mrs. Thaxter's poem is as much for the dweller inland as the dweller upon the coast."

The terms Tip-up and Teeter-Tail are usually applied to the Spotted Sandpiper, also called Peet-Weet and Sand-Lark in reference to its cry and its vocalizing on the wing. This bird incessantly bobs its head and jets its tail, whether standing still or on the move. On alighting, he first stands still, to look about, then seems to make a deep bow and at the same time elevates the tail in a most comical fashion, "as if in display or affectation," says Alexander Wilson. Audubon observed that "the motion seems continual; even the young, as soon as they are freed from the shell, run about constantly wagging the tail."

"Slim, unbalanced bird,
 A-tip upon the sands,
 Here's a friendly word,
 A mental shaking-hands,
 Ludicrous enough,
 But not more so than I;
 Of such teet'ring stuff
 Is all mortality."

—John Vance Cheney ("The Sandpiper")

"Unbalanced bird whose see-saw motion tells
 Of something feeble in thy character,
 Thou seemest a constant, aimless wanderer
 In places where no sign of beauty dwells;
 The sandbars, that thy shadowy feet prefer,
 Are spots most sadly drear and desolate,

I wonder what bereavement wrought thy fate
 And made thee restless as an autumn leaf?
 What voice can soothe thy sorrow into cheer?
 What silken wing can fan away thy grief?
 A coward, too! when the big frog hops near,
 Thou shiest off in ecstasy of fear
 Like some thin spinster scared almost to death,
 Because a man comes down her garden path!

—Maurice Thompson ("A Sandpiper")

He is a friendly little fellow, when not disturbed: I knew a flock of them to spend the summer on a golf course, and they grew so familiar with the balls that they would merely hop sideways if one came too near. It was as Riley says in "The Days Gone By,"

"And the tilting snipe stood fearless of the truant's
 wayward cry."

The Purple Sandpiper is a pretty bird, of a smoky brown above tinged with purple, and white breast with ashy spots; it is found on the rocky shores of eastern North America and Europe, hence the name Rock-Snipe and Rock-Bird, and perhaps the reason why it is overlooked for less showy pipers that are more ubiquitous. Only Hartley Coleridge has mentioned it in the rather indefinite lines:

"Yes, punctual to the time, thou'rt here again,
 As still thou art;—though frost and rain may vary,
 And icicles blockade the rock-bird's aëry."

—"The Snowdrop")

In a "Eulogy of the New World," William Morrell includes, among "the gowles that in those bays and harbours feede":

"The turtle, eagle, partridge and the quaille,
 Knot, plover, pigeons, which doe never faile."

The Knot is a large handsome sandpiper, found in most parts of the world. From its colorings it is called Ash backed, Gray Backed, Red-breasted Sandpiper, and Robin Snipe. It is said to have been a great favorite with King Canute, from whose name comes the bird's common one:

"The Knot that called was Canutus' bird of old,
 Of that great King of Danes, his name that still doth hold,
 His appetite to please, that farre and neare was sought,
 For him (as some have sayd) from Denmark hither
 brought." —Michael Drayton ("Poly-olbion")

In this same "Poly-olbion," a descriptive poem of England's legends, antiquities, productions and geography, is named

"the Stint, the palate that allure
 The Miser, and do make a wasteful epicure."

certainly high praise to the table value of this European form of

the Least Sandpiper. He also describes a well-known member of the tattler tribe of the Snipe family:

"The Redshanke, that delight
Together still to be, in some small reedy bed,
In which these little fowls in summer's time were bred."

Another tattler, named from the habit of uttering a shrill, loud whistle of four rapidly repeated notes at the least sign of danger, which alarms all the game birds in the locality, is the Tell-Tale Tattler or Greater Yellow-Legs, of which some anonymous rhymers says:

"I love to roam by the salt sea-foam,
Where the tell-tale tattler stands
And sounds his cry of 'Danger is nigh!'
To feeding game-bird bands."—Anon. ("In Autumn")

The Willett, a large North American tattler named from its call of pilly-will-willet, is the subject of a limerick:

"W is a wandering Willet,
Always crying of danger until it
Falls prey to some gun
Ere the season is done,
And hies on his way to some skillet."

In "The Monastery," Walter Scott quotes a bit of blank verse in which a host describes his guests in terms of the dishes:

"Nay, let me have the friends who eat my victuals
As various as my dishes. The feast's nought,
Where one huge plate predominates. John Plaintext—
He shall be mighty beef, our English staple;
The worthy Alderman, a buttered dumpling;
Yon pair of whiskered Cornets, ruffs and rees,
Their friend the Dandy, a green goose in sippets.

The "whiskered Cornets" compared to the Ruff is a clever bit of wit, for the male of this species has during the breeding season a large ruff of erectile feathers encircling the neck; he always has several females, called Reeves, in his flock, which he obtains by fighting for them, which gives the bird the name of Fighting Sandpiper, Combatant, and Gambetta. According to Arthur C. Benson, the delicacy of the bird's flesh has led to his becoming rare in England, where it was formerly very plentiful:

"The gallant Ruff deserts the shore
He trampled into paste."—"The Sparrow")

The Pectoral Sandpiper may be implied in Mrs. Sigourney's line "the humblest grass-bird's nest murmurs of gladness," as "Grass Bird" is one name for this species. "Kricker" is another name, referring to its cry. He also has the habit of puffing out his neck

to a wonderful extent, forming a swelling which hangs like a great goitre on the breast; at this time his voice takes on a depth that may be described as "the snipe's dull boom," as Charles E. Banks terms some such cry in his poem, "April Evening." One traveler tells of hearing it on the Yukon, a "low, hollow, booming note," growing more and more distinct. When he went to investigate he found a Pectoral Sandpiper, "standing in the thin grass with its throat inflated until it was as large as the rest of the bird," the author of this "too-u, too-u, too-u" repeated in deep, hollow, resonant, musical notes. Jack Snipe is another name for the bird, which is also shared by Wilson's Snipe, and either of which species may be intended in the lines:

"The jacksnipes swarm in boggy ground."—Isaac McClellan

"While jacksnipes call in morning sky."—John Burroughs

"The wild rice dips, the wild rice bends,
As through the starry night
With sharp-set wing the jack-snipe trends
His migratory flight."—Ernest McGaffey ("Jack-Snipe")

To the hunter, the glory of autumn might be said to begin when the Dowitcher flocks begin to come down from the north. For this Red-Breasted Snipe, according to the gray winter plumage or the rusty spring coat, is one of the most unsuspicious of game-birds, and can easily be decoyed; it doesn't take warning though numbers of its own flock lying dead and dying cover the ground:

"Now o'er the salt and sedgy marsh
There bends the rustling reed,
In flocks the dowitcher drifts down
On marshy banks to feed."

—Anon. ("The Glory of Autumn")

The Red-Backed Sandpiper, so called in its chestnut-red summer coat, is the Dunlin, Purre, or, from its broad black stomacher, the Black-Bellied Sandpiper, common in both hemispheres on the Atlantic shores, in sandy and muddy places, and under some one of its various names has been remembered by the poet:

"The ox-birds chase the tide."—Lord De Tabley

"The sealark skims the brine."—Thomas Moore

"The brent come sailing along the wind,
The divers and dunlins flock behind."

Mary B. Whiting ("On a Flying Night")

"The rail and dunlin drew the hem
Of lily-bonnets over them."

—Maurice Thompson ("The Death of the White Heron")

James Hogg has two ways of describing the call of the common European Snipe, which he gives its folk-name of "Bleeter":

"O'er the rank scented fern the bleeter was warping."
("The Pedlar")

"The airy bleeter's rolling howl."—"Old David")

"He'll hev some upland plover like as not" is a line Lowell inserts in "Fitz Adam's Story," which introduces into American poetry the Bartramian Sandpiper, or Bartram's Tattler, which Alexander Wilson named in honor of "my very worthy friend, near whose botanic gardens, on the banks of the river Schuylkill, I first found it." It is more plover-like in habits than sand piperish, whence its names Upland Plover, Field Plover, Grass Plover, and from its habitat, Prairie Pigeon. Its musical cry is the subject of a poem by Ernest McGaffey, that sportsman poet who was as much poet as hunter:

"A bird's clear call in a rippling whistle,
Floating by on the fitful breeze,
Light as the down from a shattered thistle,
Sweet as the murmur of swaying trees;
The fresh, free cry of a prairie rover,
The uncaged call of an upland plover."

Of course the most famous member of the Snipe Family could not be overlooked by the poet. "The wodcocke with the longe nose," as John Skelton describes it. Both the European and American species have been noted again and again:

"Woodcocks roamed the moonlight hill."—Wordsworth

"Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock with the gin."

—Third Part King Henry VI.

"And lonely woodcocks haunt the wat'ry glade."—Pope

"[Man] cannot live, like woodcocks, upon suction,
But, like the shark and tiger, must have prey."

—Byron

"He heard the woodcock's evening hymn."—Emerson

". . . when outward springs
A bird whose arrowy, agile flight
Seems as a sudden flash of light
Borne upward on mercurial wings;
The hanging brush an instant parts,
Shrill sounds a whistle of surprise,
And meteor-like, before his eyes,
Up through the trees a woodcock darts."

—Ernest McGaffey

"the woodcock is here,
He rises—his long bill thrust out like a spear."

—A. B. Street

The Curlew, too, is a most poetical bird, cailing, or in flight:

"I heard the curlew calling, oh, sweet, so sweet and far!"

—Celia Thaxter

"Or to their young would curlews call and clang,

Their homeless young that down the furrows creep."

—Jean Ingelow

Jean Ingelow it is who sees "The godwits running by the water edge," and Shakespeare, in "The Tempest," mentions the bar-tailed godwit by its folk name: "and sometimes I'll get thee young scamels from the rocks."

All of which makes the Sandpiper family well represented in poetical lines.

THE WASP AS A LITERARY WIGHT.

"Now mark the whine of fretful wasps

And sanguinary hornets,

That blow their trumpets loud and shrill

As regimental cornets."

—Anon. ("A Home on Staten Island")

The Wasp is an awesome creature, even in its smallest form, and is always treated with respect. William Sharp assigns one reason:

"Where the ripe pears droop heavily

The yellow wasp hums loud and long

His hot and drowsy autumn song;

A yellow flame he seems to be

When darting suddenly from on high

He lights where fallen peaches lie;

Yellow and black, this tiny thing's

A tiger-soul on elfin wings."

—("The Wasp")

And at its greatest development, the hornet, or "little horn," as the large strong species of wasp are called in compliment to the business-like buzz that accompanies all their movements, is more than awesome:

"A Hornet zet in a hollow tree—

A proper spiteful twoad was he—

And a merrily zing while a did zet

His stinge as zharp as a bayonet;

'Oh, who's so bowld and vierce as I?

I vears not bee nor waspe nor vly.'"

—(Old Ballad)

Vespa's temper, and her efficient means for expressing it, have given her a prominent place in literature. "Vespa, the wasp, is an angrie creature," wrote John Swan in his "Speculum Mundi," and most references to her endorse the statement. According to Clau-

dius Ælianus, a Greek writer of the second century who had much to say regarding the wasp, "by nature they are great fighters, eager, boisterous, and vehemently tempestuous." And listen to Katherine:

"If I be waspish, best beware my sting."

—("Taming of the Shrew")

Another tribute is credited to James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," in those amusing papers, "Noctes Ambrosianæ": "O' a' God's creatures, the wasp is the only ane that's eternally out o' temper; there's nae sic thing as pleasin' him. . . . Amid the general dance and minstrelsy (of the garden) in comes a shower o' infuriate wasps, red hot, as if let out of a fiery furnace, picking quarrels wi' their ain shadows; then roun' and roun' the hair o' your head, bizzing against the drum o' your ear, dashing against the face o' you, who are wishin' ill to nae leevin' thing; and although you are engaged out to dinner, stickin' a lang, poishoned stang in just beloe your ee, that afore you can run hame frae the garden swells up to a fearsome hicht, making you on that side look like a blackamoor, and on the opposite white as death; sae intolerable is the agony from the tail of the yellow imp that, according to his bulk, is stronger far than the dragon o' the desert."

"The yellow-jacket, small and full of spite,
Bedecked in livery of golden lace,
Comes with the fretful arrogance of one
Who plays the master, though himself a slave."

—T. B. Read ("The New Pastoral")

The Egyptians had a theory that wasps generated from dead crocodiles, hence their fierceness; and another ancient bit of entomology taught that while wasps in general came from the dead bodies of horses, the hornet owed its swiftness and fierceness from having originated in the body of a war-horse. Perhaps, too, in the yellow bands striping the dark brown or black body, the ancients saw a resemblance to the trappings of these steeds.

Too, wasps make an invincible "flying cavalry" when they issue forth in battle array. It is recorded in Holman's "Travels": "Eight miles from Grandie the muleteers suddenly called out 'Marambundas! Marambundas!' which indicated the approach of wasps. In a moment all the animals, whether loaded or otherwise, lay down on their backs kicking violently; while all the blacks and all persons not already attacked, ran away in different directions, all being careful, by a wide sweep, to avoid the swarms of tormentors that came forward like a cloud. I never witnessed a panic so sudden and complete, and really believe that the bursting of a water-spout could hardly have produced more commotion. However, it must be confessed that the alarm was not without good reason, for so

severe is the torture inflicted by these pigmy assailants that the bravest travelers are not ashamed to fly the instant they perceive the host approaching, which is of common occurrence in the campos."

Keats, in "The Cap and Bells," among other physical pains names "the torture of the wasp." In Drayton's "Court of Fairy" a certain warrior was well armed because

"His rapier was a hornet's sting;
It was a very dangerous thing."

In Joseph Rodman Drake's "The Culprit Fay," the insect is mentioned, first in the verdict of the fairy king that had the mortal maiden the culprit had learned to love been other than wholly virtuous,

"Fairy! had she spot or taint,
Bitter had been thy punishment:
Tied to the hornet's shardy wings;"

and other like torments; though on his mission of atonement the culprit was equipped for combat: acorn helmet, plumed with this-tledown, a cloak of butterfly wings, a shield of a ladybug shell, a firefly steed, a bent-grass sword-blade, cockle-seed spurs,

"And the quivering lance which he brandish'd bright
Was the sting of a wasp he had slain in fight."

But one does not need to consult fairy-lore to find the insect a useful ally. In Exodus we find it valiantly working in the interests of the Children of Israel (xxiii., 28): "And I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite and the Hittite, from before thee"—a promise renewed in Deuteronomy (vii., 20): "Moreover the Lord thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed." A promise fulfilled, too, as the Israelites were reminded in Joshua's time (xxiv., 12): "And I sent the hornet before you, which drove them out from before you, even the two kings of the Amorites." Hundreds of years later, by the same natural means, "a Christian city, being besieged by Saporess, King of Persia, was delivered by hornets; for the elephants and beasts, being stung by them, waxed unruly, and so the whole army fled."—(Cruden's Concordance).

The Greeks, in particular, had much "personal" knowledge of Vespa's fiery ways. According to the chorus in Aristophanes' famous comedy, "The Wasps":

"And still, they say, in foreign lands, do men this language hold,
There's nothing like your Attic wasp, so testy and so bold."

Even though Aristophanes' "wasps" be the dicastery of judicial court, trying a dog for the theft of a piece of cheese, their intelligence does not neutralize their trouble-making tendencies, and so

the chorus warns the public against patronizing this tribunal inordinately:

"Have a care what you do;
They're a sharp, angry few,
Quick as wasp's-nest
When urchins molest it."

In the *Iliad*, Homer pays tribute to Grecian valor through the mouth of an amazed but admiring enemy:

"I did not look to see the men of Greece
Stand thus before our might and our strong arms;
Yet they, like pliant-bodied wasps or bees,
That build their cells beside the rocky way,
And quit not their abode, but, waiting there
The hunger, combat for their young—so these,
Although but two, withdraw not from the gates,
Nor will, till they be slain or seized alive."

—Book XII. (Bryant's translation)

Of course, the humorous possibilities for the onlooker in the wasp's sting did not escape the comedy-loving Greek. So in Ovid we find a zestful account of how the blundering Silenus, a short, stout, bald-headed, flat-nosed, bearded old goat-man and mythological clown, once undertook to rob a hornet's nest for honey, in his stupidity taking it for a bees' nest. There was the general commotion, of course, for hornets were the same then as now, with the result that Silenus was well stung on the bald head before his young ward and pupil, Bacchus, could come to his rescue and apply the time-honored plaster of mud, which enabled Silenus to survive his many punctures, in spite of the old saying, current in Pliny's time, that "three times nine stings" were always fatal.

According to Claudius Ælianus, the Greeks once believed that wasps secured their poison by dipping their stings in the venom bag of a dead serpent, and that they kept their weapons in good condition by filing them frequently, like the hornet in the old English ballad already quoted. And then, as now, men retaliated on the courageous insects by burning the nests, judging from a line in Euripides' drama, "*The Cyclops*," whose single great eye Ulysses plans to put out with a burning-brand—to "grub out the eye of the doomed Cyclops, like a wasp's nest."

In his "*Theatre of Insects*," Moffet, an early English nature-writer, has many quaint comments on the wasp and her ways. For instance: "Their tayle is armed with a long, stiffe and exceedingly venomous sting," also the admission that its use is generally upon provocation: "Whosoever dare be so knack-hardy as to come near their houses or dwelling-places, and to offer any violence or hurt to the same, at the noyse of some one of them all the whole swarm

rusheth out, being put into an amazed fear, to help their fellow-citizens, and do so busily bestir themselves about the ears of their molesters, as that they send them away packing with more than ordinary pace."

Ælianus finds an appreciative reader in Moffet, who cites instances from the Greek's pages: "If we will credit Ælianus, the Phasilites, in times past, were constrained to forsake their City, for all their defence, munition and Armour, all through the multitude and cruel fierceness of the Wasps, wherewith they were annoyed. . . . This manifestly proveth that they want not a hearty and fatherly affection, because with more than heroicall courage and invincible fury they set upon all persons, of what degree or quality soever, that dare attempt to lye in wait to hurt or destroy their young breed, no whit at all dreading Neoptolemus, Pyrrhus, Hector, Achilles or Agamemnon himself, the Captain General of all the whole Grecians, if he were present."

Moffet also quotes Ælianus' remarks anent the fox's ability to outwit the wasp: "Reynard the Fox, likewise, who is so full of his wiles and crafty shifting, is reported to be in wait to betray Wasps after this sort. The wily thief thrusteth his bushy tail into the Wasp's nest, there holding it so long until he perceives it to be full of them, then drawing it slily forth, he beateth and smiteth his tail full of wasps against the next stone or tree, never resting so long as he seeth any of them alive, and thus playing his fox-like parts many times together; at last he setteth upon their combs, devouring all that he can finde." All he can "finde" of luscious larvæ, no doubt.

The slender wasp-waist, once so coveted by Vespa's human sisters, is described by Moffet: "The body of the Wasp seemeth to be fastened and tyed together to the midst of the breast with a certain thin, fine thread or line, so that by this disjoyned, and not well compacted composition, they seem very feeble in their loins or rather to have none at all." And of her work-song, or battle-cry, whichever it happen to be, he says: "They make a sound as Bees do, but more fearful, hideous, terrible and whisteling, especially when they are provoked to wrath."

In his "From Cadet to Colonel," Sir Thomas Seaton gives a modern instance of an army—or at least a part of one—being put to rout by a disturbed colony: "A picket of Lord Clyde's army were amusing themselves throwing stones at an odd-looking mass of mud and straw hanging in a tree. One marksman, more successful than his comrades, sent a stone with great effect into the centre of the mysterious object, when out flew a cloud of hornets and drove Lord Clyde's invincibles into the river."

Of course, the poet has not failed to make good use of the insect's

irascible qualities, such as, in Tennyson's pathetic little story of "The First Quarrel," the wife's observation: "I had better ha' put my naked hand in a hornet's nest" than to touch Harry's old deal-box full of odds and ends "an' a letter along wi' the rest." Long-fellow, too, in "Hiawatha," makes two good comparisons:

"Ah! the singing, fatal arrow,
Like a wasp it buzzed and stung him!"

Hard his breath came through his nostrils,
Through his teeth he buzzed and muttered,
Words of anger and resentment,
Hot and humming, like a hornet."

Moffet finds the insect figuring, figuratively, in sermons: "Clemens Alexandrinus, when he would express and declare the foulness and abominable hurt of such sins that do lie in wait, as it were, to deceive, and watch to do displeasure to the life of man, hath these words: 'That is, these fat, dull, grosse and Olympick enemies of ours are worser than Wasps, more cruel and displeasing, and especially sensuall and worldly pleasure.'" One wonders if the good Alexandrinus had some time suffered the unpleasant experience related by Ormerod, the English entomologist, in his work, "Natural History of Wasps," which Ormerod had from a Dr. King, of Penang, regarding a certain vicious Asiatic species of hornet: "No later than last Sunday one flew into the Scotch kirk, where one of the merchants was reading the service, plumped down and stung him instantly on the head, and was off again in a moment. The sting drew blood, besides being excessively painful." An incident somewhat paralleling that of old Silenus, no doubt, since *Vespa* usually strikes at uncovered skin, having found that she is more likely to find a nerve thereby.

Vespa has considerable fame as an oracle. For example: "For wasps, hornets and gnats to bite more eagerly than usual is a sign of rainy weather." Also "hornets flying in late autumn foretell storms at sea." And because the Queen Wasp might wish to use the nest while hibernating:

"If hornets build low,
Winter storms and snow;
If hornets build high,
Winter mild and dry."

It is bad luck ever to kill a wasp. For instance, about two hundred years before Christ, so Frank Cowan tells us in his "Curious History of Insects," "an infinite number of wasps flew into the market at Capua and sat in the temple of Mars. They were with great diligence taken and burnt solemnly. Yet they did fore-

shadow the coming of the enemy and the burning of the city." In spite of this historical warning, some people continue to say that "the first wasp seen in the season should be killed, thereby insuring good luck and freedom from enemies during the year."

"If a wasp stings you, it is a sign your foes will get the best of you," so they say. Also, "If wasps build in a house, it is a sign the occupants will come to want," and "If the first wasp of the season is seen in your house, it is a sign you are to form an unpleasant acquaintance."

Mankind must always find use for a thing that continues to exist near him, and, as Moffet records: "Pliny greatly commendeth the Solitary Wasp to be very effectual against a Quartine Ague, if you catch her with your left hand and tie or fasten her to any part of your body (always provided it must be the first wasp that you lay hold on that year)." Provided, too, that the sting be removed before applying, otherwise *Vespa* will be needed for a poultice, since it was once believed that wasps will cure their own stings if bruised and used as a plaster.

The vespiary itself was formerly recommended as a cure for stings, by crushing the combs with willow leaves and mallow and using as a poultice. When burned and their smoke inhaled, the insect's paper castle was esteemed as a cure for asthma or colds, and distemper in animals.

"Their use is great and singular," attests Moffet, "for besides that they serve for food to those kind of Hawks which are called Kaistrels or Fleingals, Martinets, Swallows, Owls, to Brocks or Badgers and to the Cameleon; they also do great pleasure and service to men sundry ways, for they kill the Phalangium, which is a kind of venomous spider, that hath in all his legs three knots, or joynts, whose poyson is perilous and deadly, and yet Wasps do cure their wounds." Aside from these several benefits, real and fancied, *Vespa* is a valuable insect scavenger, and does not stop at the ill-smelling cabbage butterfly and equally maladorous earwig, and will devour the edible parts of a carcass wherever found and however long dead.

Honey appeals to *Vespa's* appetite, in any form she can get it first hand, as Browning notes:

"This bloom whose best grace was the slug outside
And the wasp inside its bosom—call you 'rose'?"

—"The Ring and the Book")

or will use it second hand:

"He has a son, who shall be flayed alive, then,
'nointed over with honey, set on the head of a wasp's nest."

—"The Winter's Tale," Act IV., Sc. 3)

Tennyson uses the wasp's plundering habits to good advantage in "Queen Mary" to indicate the disfavor with which the English people regarded their Spanish king-consort:

"I watched a hive of late;
My seven-years' friend was with me, my young boy;
Out crept a wasp, with half the swarm behind.
'Philip,' says he."

An insect feasting in a flower often finds its person in danger. Virgil mentions "the fierce hornets" attacking bees, a common sight to-day as in those distant times:

"And the wasp,
Dropping his long legs, like a flying crane,
Lights on the flower, and with his ready sting
Threats the intruder."

—T. B. Read ("The New Pastoral")

Sir Thomas Seaton, who saw service in India, tells of sugar warehouses in Shahjahanpur being occupied by hornets for a whole summer, during which time they consumed 3,000 pounds of this sweet army ration, in place of the intimidated soldiers, who dared not enter the buildings. Many a fruit grower knows *Vespa's* sweet tooth all too well:

"When the hungry yellow wasp foretells
The vintager, and mars the prosperous grape."

—Eugene Lee-Hamilton

Edward Topsell, in his "History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents," says: "Whilst Pennius was at Peterborough in England, he saw in the wide and open street a Hornet pursuing a Sparrow, whom when he wounded with his sting, he fell down dead to the ground, and with the admiration of all that beheld them, he suck't out and filled himself with the blood of the slain prey. I myself, being at Duckworth in Huntingtonshire, my native soyle, I saw on a time, a great Wasp or Hornet making after and fiercely pursuing a Sparrow in the open street of the town, to the same end."

Like Whittier's "Barefoot Boy," several poets have shown interest in

"the architectural plans
Of gray hornet artisans;
Of the black wasp's cunning way
Mason of his walls of clay."

For the later writers have rather avoided the "fierce" side of *Vespa's* nature and have rather humanized her, because unbiased study of her ways proves that she is a most intelligent being with many other things to do than to lie in wait for the chance to thrust a wicked sting into some sensitive part of mankind's person:

“And humming soft,
On roof and rafter, or its log-rude sides,
Black in the sun-shot loft,
The building hornet glides.”

—Madison Cawein (“The Old Barn”)

Take the papier-maché of the social wasp, the first papermaker, who, fortunately, failed to take out a patent, since it is by following her plan that mankind keeps the present supply of paper equal to the demand. As Margaret Morley says, in her volume, “Wasps and Their Ways”:

“When the Egyptians were laboriously cutting their records in stone, or drawing them up on the pressed pith of the papyrus, and the European theirs on the inner bark of trees, and the North American Indians were tanning the hides of animals and painting their messages upon them, the wasp folk were busy making a true paper, a paper that man finally learned to make in essentially the same way that the wasp makes it.”

“The wasp, fine architect, surrounds his domes
With paper foliage, and suspends his combs.”

—Erasmus Darwin (“The Origin of Society”)

Vespa gathers her material from a tree-trunk, stump, rail or woody stem, as a rule, so that gray is the usual color, of the weathered-wood hue:

“The rider drew his dripping rein,
And then a letter, wasp-nest gray.”

—Benjamin F. Taylor (“The Captain’s Drum”)

“A man with a face as withered and gray
As the wasp nest stowed in a loft away—
Where the hornets haunt and the mortar drops
From the loosened logs of the clapboard tops.”

—Madison Cawein (“At the Lane’s End”)

“the wall of the little white town
That’s stuck like a bleached wasps’ nest in the gap
Where the ridge of the hills breaks down.”

—Jane Barlow (“The Curlew’s Call”)

But if man-made paper be handy, she does not hesitate to use it. Says the author of “Homes Without Hands”: “I have seen a nest which was made almost entirely of the blue and white paper used for cartridges, the wasps having taken advantage of the expended papers and used them instead of taking the trouble to gnaw hard wood.” Near St. Louis, where paper bags were used to protect clusters of grapes from rot, the Rust-Red Social Wasp was discovered gathering material from the bags: “stripping off, with its jaws, fibres and layers of the paper, which were rapidly gathered, by the aid of the front tarsi, into a compact packet and finally borne away,” as Miss Mary E. Murtfeldt reports.

"A fig tree curled out of our cottage wall;
 Cric— cric— I think I hear the wasps o'erhead,
 Pricking the papers strung to flutter there
 And keep off birds in fruit time—coarse long papers,
 And the wasps eat them, prick them through and through."
 —Robert Browning ("Pippa Passes")

The common European wasp, or hornet (*Vespa crabro*), usually hangs its paper cradle-combs inside hollow trees; it is a pretty black and yellow creature—a tiger-body on elfin wings, to paraphrase Mr. Sharp's closing line in the verse already given.

"Green flies and striped wasps go and come."
 —George Macdonald ("The Child Mother")
 "In wasp-like black and yellow foolery,"
 —Robert Browning ("The Ring and the Book")

Our common "yellow-jacket," or white-faced Hornet, is *Vespa maculata*, the skilled architect and builder of the great Chinese-lantern palaces hung in the trees. It, too, is a striped wasp, with conspicuous white markings on body and face. Bald-faced Hornet is another name for her; she is always astir and is fond of humid, woody places:

"A white-faced hornet hurtles by,
 Lags a turquoise butterfly—
 One intent on prey and treasure,
 One afloat on tides of pleasure."
 —Maurice Thompson ("In the Haunts of Bass and Bream")
 "The streaked wasps, worrying in and out,
 Dart fitfully and slim."
 —Madison Cawein ("Among the Knobs")

The mason, or mud-building wasp, is one of the solitary species, whose little corrugated adobe tube combs are often found in attics, under eaves and piazza porches. She has the long, slender middle-body that inspired Aristophanes to the expression "wasp-waisted wenches" as descriptive of fashionable ladies aping that style of waist. She gathers mud diligently from the edges of puddles or ponds, as Mr. Cawein notes:

"With their peevish whine,
 Come mason hornets; and roll and wrestle
 With balis of clay they carry and twine
 In hollow nests on the joists of the trestle."
 —Madison Cawein ("The Log Bridge")

Indeed, the mud-dauber seems to be Mr. Cawein's "favorite wasp," and he has mentioned it in various poems, locating it in suitable sites.

"Its cells the mud-wasp packs."
 ("The Haunted House")

"While, where the sun beats, drone and drawl
The mud-wasps." ("The Old Inn")
"The hornets build in plaster-dropping rooms"
("Abandoned")

She is always humming while at work, and this, with her habit of putting dead or stunned spiders into the cell with the egg before sealing up the tube, is probably the origin of the Oriental belief that she has the power to change the spider into a wasp by singing over it the miraculous incantation: "Class with me, class with me."

"And a bark for the wasp to live in," sang John Keats in one of his poems, and so paid tribute to the mining wasps that dig burrows instead of fabricating cells. Says Miss Morley: "One sees them in the hottest part of the summer, working as if the intense heat were the power that put them in motion. The hotter the day, the more fiercely they work."

An Australian poet has given us a colorful description of some species in that faraway country:

"Only there's a drowsy humming
From yon warm lagoon slow-coming,
'Tis the dragon-hornet. See!
All bedaubed resplendently
Yellow on a tawny ground—
Each rich spot not square nor round,
Rudely heart-shaped, as it were
The blurred and hasty impress there
Of a vermeil-crueted seal
Dusted o'er with golden meal."

—Charles Harper ("Midsummer Noon in the Australian Forest")

Midsummer seems the proper time for wasps, with their glowing yellow bandings and their droning song, like the hum of machinery in the field. One is quite willing to grant them a place in nature then, they seem to fill it with such grace:

"The buzz of wasp and fly makes hot
The spaces of the garden-plot."

—Madison Cawein ("Midsummer")

Indeed, the wasp is not a half-bad creature. Most of her angry passions come from having them stirred up by some intruder, and if she is left alone, her rights respected and her peace of mind is not threatened, she is as harmless a creature as most of us. No doubt Mrs. Allen was right when she thought of the fairies, or "miracle-workers," spending some of their time on *Vespa*, that she might show a lovely figure to the world:

"They girdle the wasp with a golden ring."

—Elizabeth Akers Allen ("The Miracle Workers")

IS THE AMERICAN INDIAN OF ASIATIC ORIGIN?

THE origin of the American Indian has been the subject of no little discussion. Many theories have been advanced, some very plausible and some indicating the "wish is father to the thought," but all, in the end, seem to sum up in the single word—conjecture.

The theory of the Asiatic origin is not without weight and is held by quite a number of students of history who have made profound research, who have studied the question in all its bearings and whose conclusions are worthy of respectful consideration, though they may not be the last word.

It was my good fortune to have spent a very pleasant evening with a gentleman who held the position of American Minister to China. He was a scholarly man and had made a careful study of this question, in which he was deeply interested. While in China he had access to important documents concerning the relations between China and America, and the result of his researches led him to the conclusion that there were many very good reasons for holding the Asiatic theory. His reasons, founded on something more than mere conjecture, called to my mind the fact that Father Emile Petitot, O. M. I., for many years a missionary among the Indians of the Athabaska-Mackenzie region of North America, was of the same opinion as the American Minister just referred to. Father Petitot made a careful study of this question with evidences before him not within the reach of the ordinary student. I determined to consult him, and learned many of the following facts: Among other things, he tells us that "according to the comparisons he has made he has been able to establish certain facts and with the aid of his early studies of the hyperborean people of America, with whom he had been so long and intimately associated, he could already begin to discern the outlines of the phases and peripatetics of the history of the Dené-Dindjie¹ and of the Innuits.

In his analysis of these phases, Father Petitot refers to a race of men, tall, with legs "nervous and bent outwards," heads small, erect and held backward, conic occiputs, receding forehead like unto the still unknown races of the Stone Age in the north of Europe—which reached America from the West by way of the Aleutian Islands, fleeing before another race which had up to

¹ The Dené (men or people) an aboriginal race of North America, also called Athapascans, and known among the earlier ethnologists as Touné, or Tonnach. Dindjie (men) allied to the Denés, also of the Athabaska-Mackenzie region. They are sometimes called Loucheux or cross-eyed or squint eyes by the French missionaries.

this time held them in bondage and which followed them to this continent, which they entered with them.

These people appear to belong to a gigantic race; they have abnormally large heads which they deform by artificial means. They wear no clothing, their weapons of war are of metal; they carried shields and wore both casques and cuirass, were zealous in capturing prisoners in war, and exhibited as trophies the heads of their enemies, which they learned to preserve and dry. (In this way they resembled the Indians of Mexico and Central America, who also exhibited traces of Asiatic origin.) Like some Australian and African tribes, they made various kinds of incisions in their faces, after the fashion of the Huns. They had a certain knowledge of navigation and were expert canoemen. Their totems were the otter, the badger and the crow.

The Dené regarded this latter people as a "nation of women," a "race of dogs." Father Petitot classes them as belonging to the Caraihs, to which family likewise are affiliated the Kallouches and the Innuits, who were uncircumcised and practiced cremation or buried their dead in a crouching posture, and he associated them with the races of the Bronze Age in Europe.

The nation or tribe with the smaller heads, and which preceded the one just described, was the Dené, a people relatively moral, and having traditions of their own. Their habits and customs were of a Hebrew or Chaldean character and they practiced circumcision. Their totems were the wolf or a species of American dog of the wolf breed. They buried their dead in a recumbent position: the body either stretched out at full length or doubled in such a manner as to allow the head and feet to come together. This tribe seems to be intermingled with a foreign and uncircumcised element. They at first settled in the Arctic Zone, dwelling among their enemies, the Kallouches and the Eskimos.

A part of the Dené people appears to have remained for a longer time in Asia and to have intermingled with foreign elements, which they themselves describe as "white men, black men, yellow men, etc.," a classification borne out by an examination of their national characteristics.

This part of the Denés reached America by way of Behring Strait, which is deduced from the fact that their traditions mention only "straits and bridges of ice."

This people differs from the Dené in that it is strongly mixed with "strangers," but for all this, the Denés recognize others as belonging to the same race as themselves. They are the tribes known as the Dené-Dindjies, the Dœna, the Dnaïne and the Knaïtz. These

tribes are now either extinct or absorbed into other and more powerful tribes.

These people, who are supposed to have crossed over to America from Asia, brought with them wrought metals; they came in separate groups, at different times and at long intervals; they practiced circumcision to a more or less extent and their Biblical traditions read more like history than those of other races. They had large, massive heads with occiput naturally flat, and strongly resembling the Celtic types of the early Iron Age of the north of Europe.

The tribes that fled to the east after crossing the northern Cordilleras still preserved many of their primitive customs and national characteristics, and went back entirely to the use of stone.

It would appear that the date of their immigration cannot be placed earlier than the fifth or sixth century before the Christian era, because all the events recorded in the traditions of the Dené-Dindjies and which are so like those related in the Holy Scriptures, took place, according to their traditions, in a land other than America, on the "opposite side" of America "before the earth was changed." Now, as the interpretation of this Hebraic expression means the downfall of a kingdom and the captivity of its people, the traditions referred to naturally carry us back to the time of the captivity of Israel and of Judah under Salmanezar and Nabuchodonosor, five centuries before the birth of Christ.

Now, if we allow the captives two or three centuries in which to pass through Asia, it becomes evident that the first of these migrations must have taken place two or three centuries before Christ, but it is also possible that they may have occurred some centuries later.

The reader will not have failed to notice many points of contact between the migrations of the Dené-Dindjies and those of the Toltecs and other Mexican races. It is very remarkable and is further emphasized in their language and traditions.

This is the historical result presented to us by a comparative study of American traditions, and of what we can gather from careful and diligent archæological and ethnological research. The origin of the Dené-Dindjies and of the Caraibo-Inneck, is undoubtedly Asiatic, but the Denés may be traced back to the Israelites and to the tribe of Sem, while the latter are descended from Ham. Their manners, habits and customs are in most respects like those of the Phœnico-Egyptian nations. This can be readily admitted if we take account of the many foreign elements which these tribes adapted from their intercourse with Asiatic people during the long years of their passage through their country.

Learned archæologists have long since come to the conclusion that old bones and silent ruins do not, necessarily, constitute a criterion sufficiently reliable upon which to base conclusions upon the primitive inhabitants of Europe concerning which history is silent, and they have found it necessary to appeal to ethnography. Is not this an implied admission that prehistoric archæology must perforce depend upon the aid of this science?

Not only have the archæologists of France realized this fact, but those of Denmark, Sweden and other countries have done likewise. We know that at a meeting of the Swedish Archæological Society, held at Stockholm, Dr. H. Hildebrand dwelt upon the "necessity" on the part of archæologists to seek for direct proofs of the deductions made by their own body concerning European antiquities and its uncivilized races.

Studied together, archæology and ethnology cannot fail to lead the student to two important discoveries: that of the prehistoric origin of the people of Europe and that of the savage races of America and the islands of the Pacific—which is the object of the investigation of the ethnologist and the mythologist.

Now, since it is evident that archæology requires the aid of the ethnography of nations living in a savage state, so ethnography requires the aid of archæology. Thus, ethnography, after collecting all the information available from a people whose origin is unknown and whose history can be learned only through oral traditions, must, if it would rest its conclusions on a solid basis, compare the material thus obtained with the elements brought to light by ancient history and prehistoric archæology.

This comparative method, I know, will not be approved by all scholars, but, since it is only by comparison that real scholars study the origins of prehistoric peoples, it seems to me that by following the same plan in regard to the aboriginal Americans, I will not go far astray.

I have, therefore, no scruples, but rather consider it a duty to base my reasons for comparisons on the few prehistoric archæological documents available, the chief of which are the "*Materiaux*" of E. Cartailhac, and the "*Compte Rendu du Congres de Nancy*."

Father Petitot tells us that he derived most of his ethnological and ethnographical knowledge from the Indians among whom he labored for so many years and the result of personal observation. Further information is gleaned from the reports of a recent American traveler and from old missionaries, in addition to such as may be found in the "*Dictionnaire Ethnographique*" of the Abbé Migne, which we shall indicate in footnotes as we go along.

In this paper it is our purpose to describe some of the manners

and customs of the Indians dwelling in the most northern regions of our continent—we may say the Arctic Zone—chiefly Athabaska-Mackenzie. Unfortunately we shall only be able to treat our subject very briefly, for a profound study of the question would lead to an endless and perhaps an unprofitable discussion—unprofitable because the means of research within the reach of the best informed, and the opportunities for making proper research are so difficult that in the end of our brief study we would be apt to have made very little progress. We shall be far from having said the last word, but if we can arouse our critics to make further and more reliable research, we shall feel that we have not labored in vain.

Then, again, we propose to treat this subject only in so far as it relates to some of the opinions recently expressed by a certain school of archæologists after a series of archæological discussions—opinions, however, that have not yet, so far as we know, received any very great support, and which are still awaiting confirmation by facts.

With these few introductory remarks, let us now proceed to examine some of the arms and utensils, first of the prehistoric races of Europe, and later on, compare them with those of the aborigines of our own country. Antiquarians distinguish between cut stone, polished stone, bronze and iron, and make each of these materials represent an age or epoch of more or less duration. In other words, they claim that the idea of polishing their arms and utensils could have occurred to men only after the long use of roughly cut and shapeless stone (the Palæontic Age). After this age of polished stone came the Neolithic Age, to be followed by the Bronze Age and finally by the Iron Age. Pottery and arms and utensils made of wood, bone or ivory are mentioned in one or the other of these four ages. According to other systems the Palæolithic and the Neolithic ages coincided with the quaternary epochs of the geologists so that the geologists designate as quarternarians the inhabitants of our planet who used cut or hewn stone as well as polished stone.

We may not enter here into a discussion of the questionable nature of these problematical ages. We prefer to let facts speak for themselves; we will allow the poor, ignorant savage to contradict, at least to a certain extent, a theory having a false premise for its starting point, namely, that man was primarily a savage and that the human race only attained civilization by gradual steps, a proposition essentially false and questioning the wisdom and omnipotence of the Creator. It degrades human nature and is advanced with the specious pretext of exalting human reason.

The arms and implements in use among the Denés and Dindjie at

the time when the Europeans entered their country a little more than a century ago, were of wood, bone and stone. Copper and iron were unknown to them save what they remembered of them through popular traditions and, even after their use for a time in America, a time more or less remote, the Indians for reasons we shall not attempt to explain, lost these metals and were naturally obliged to return to the use of stone. This last state or age continued until the advent of the "palefaces," who taught them, once more, the use of copper and even of wrought iron.

But we must notice that even in our day, stone still predominates among our Arctic Indians, in conjunction with such use as they can make of metals that are available. Among the tribes which have come in possession of metals and learned their use to a more or less extent, many objects made of stone may still be found. Among these may be mentioned arrowheads, spearheads, harpoon points, lamps, calumets, cooking utensils and even fish hooks. Moreover, many tribes, because of their distance from the forts or settlements, are unable to obtain more modern products, and consequently are obliged to resort to the use of stone. This is evident, especially among the Eskimos.

With the exception of such arms and implements as can be made only of wood, all objects now in use among the Denés have the prefix *thé*, stone, in their nomenclature, thus: the word calumet, the pipe of peace, is rendered: *thé-ttse-altt-wii-the*, which translated into English means "the sucking stone." Useless to attempt to pronounce the word.

Notwithstanding the fact that the traditions of the Denés indicate that these people at one time used metal, it has been impossible, up to the present time, to discover any traces of mining nor even the smallest object of wrought metal. On the other hand, a search of their old encampments has brought to light such objects as hatchets, knives, spearheads and arrowheads of stone.

Father Petitot tells of an old Indian woman who on one occasion took him to a deep fissure among some rocks about twelve miles from his residence near Fort Good Hope and she assured him that at the time of the establishment of the first English factories in the Mackenzie Valley, the Peaux de Lièvre Indians brought all their stone arms to the place in the hope of recovering them later on, if the English traders ever went away, as the first "metal people" had done in years long gone by.

Father Petitot made two examinations of this crevasse, some seven or eight feet long, but its narrowness and the calcareous nature of the *débris* which had accumulated at the bottom, together with what he calls his probable lack of perseverance, resulted in

nothing more than the discovery of a few human bones half calcined and evidently of more recent date.

The only conclusion to be arrived at is that judging only from appearances and declining to consult oral traditions, the Dené-Dindjie belong to the Stone Age, and that it is equally difficult to determine to which phase of the quaternary period they may be allotted, since, among the kindred and neighboring tribes we find some using implements of roughly hewn stone, while others had implements of carefully polished stone.

It is a curious as well as a noteworthy fact that the hatchets of the Dené-Dindjie are identical in form with those found in Denmark as well as those found in the copper mines of the Asturias, but, on this point archæology alone will not help us, as no implement of bronze or copper is found among the Dené-Dindjie and the classification of these weapons might be considered arbitrary if we lose sight of the tradition concerning iron and copper still preserved by the Indians of to-day.

Again, these hammer-hatchets (tomahawks) are said by Mr. Worsae to resemble in every particular the "dans hammers" of the ancient copper mines of Killarney as well as the old stone hammers of Lake Superior and Huron.

On the other hand, the absolute duration of the three epochs of prehistoric archæology may be a matter of question if it is not really problematical.

If we admit, with a large number of scientists, that the Syro-Phœnicians were the first to exploit copper mines in Europe, there is, in the perfect similarity of form and use of the "hatchet-hammers" above mentioned to those found in Denmark and Ireland; in the Mornan, France; in the Asturias, Spain; in Georgia (ancient Iberia), as well as in the Aleutian, the vast and glacial country of the Dené and the Dindjie, and finally in the regions of the great American lakes; there is, we may assume, a very strong presumption in favor of the Phœnico-Chaldean, that is, of an Asiatic or mixed origin of these weapons.

In fact, all the peoples who had these implements had some knowledge of copper, acquired at one time or another, and utilized it. Among these may be mentioned the Denés of the great Athabaska and Great Slave lakes; the Dune, of the Great Bear Lake; the Dane, of the Peace River; the Dnaïne, of the Pacific: all of the Dené-Dindjie family. To these we may add the Danes or Scandinavians. Another curious fact: in Palestine and along the borders of the sea, on the coasts of the Philistines and the Phœnicians was the land of the Israelite tribe of Dan, one of those most given to

migration, as was prophesied of them long ago by Moses: "Dan catulus leonis fluet largiter de Basan."

The oldest traditions of the Denés ascribe the use of metal and of shields and spears to a people who conquered others and held them in captivity in a western country other than the one they now inhabit, but the Denés and the Dindjie do not claim the use of any but stone, wooden, bone and ivory implements before the advent of the "metal people."

The Eskimo, neighbors of the Dené-Dindjie, still use stone with which to point their arrows, spears, harpoons and many other implements. Even the weights on their fishing nets are disks of stone through which holes have been bored. Wood, ivory and horn are used to a very great extent. Bows and arrows, the latter pointed with bone; ice picks for breaking the ice or making holes for their fish nets or beaver traps tipped with bone. The horn of the musk ox or the mountain goat is utilized in making spoons, while caldrons or kettles for cooking are made of willow branches so ingeniously woven together as to make them watertight. Strangely enough, these Indians use the same method of heating the water as that described by Cabeza de Vaca, in his "Relacion" concerning the Indians of Colorado.² The water was brought to a boil by heating stones which were taken up with wooden tongs and dropped into the caldron, one after another, until the water boiled from the effect of the constantly renewed heat of the stones.

Let us now pass from our effort to trace these people according to the age to which they belonged—Stone, Bronze or Iron—and study some of their manners and customs. In Europe the man of the Stone Age is said to have been a cave-dweller. The same cannot be said of the Dené, who as a type may be chronologically considered and not to be compared to the troglodytes. They were a race of nomads living by hunting reindeer, the musk ox and other animals and by fishing. They dwelt in tents made of skins or in huts of bark or other suitable materials. These were similar in form to those of the Asiatics and which they pompously designated as "houses properly so-called" (Kruni-Kowa). This would seem to indicate that these people, before leading a nomadic life, had dwelt in permanent homes.

It cannot be claimed that in the glacial portion of North America, at least, there has been a single race that dwelt in caves after the fashion of the ancient troglodytes. There has never been an Indian of that region with enough courage and little enough superstition

² See our article entitled "Some Early Explorers and Missionaries in the Territory Now Known as the United States," in a former number of the "American Catholic Quarterly Review."

to be willing to pass a night in a cave or grotto. The Denés had an idea that natural excavations—rare enough in their country because of the peculiar nature of the soil—are haunted by supernatural beings who dwell in the bowels of the earth. Hence, they never pass a cave without leaving an offering at the entrance so as to gain the favor of the presiding spirits.

If we go back to the period before the Indian came in contact with the palefaces we shall find in the land of the Denés, where they existed at all, caverns filled with no end of objects such as are generally found in the caves of prehistoric times and which afford the archæologist much food for conjecture. But if the Denés shunned caves as a habitation for the living they did not hesitate to use them as resting places for their dead, and it is their manner of sepulture that we shall proceed to examine, after a cursory glance at the habitations for the living.

The Bronze Age in Switzerland and the end of the Neolithic Age along the Baltic are characterized by Lacustrine habitations built on piles and mentioned by Herodotus, who, writing in the fifth century B. C., describes the people of Lake Prasias as "living in houses constructed on platforms supported on piles in the middle of the lake and which are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge." Hippocrates, writing in the same century, says of the people of Phasis, that as their country was hot and marshy and subject to frequent inundations, they lived in houses of timber and reeds constructed in the midst of waters and used boats made of a single tree-trunk.

These lacustrine habitations have their counterparts in Asia, Oceanica and America. We have all read of the habitations built on piles along water courses and along the shores of lakes by the Chinese, the Idaons or Dyaks, of Borneo; the Malays of the great Asiatic archipelago; the Tano or Tagals, of the Philippines, and the Tenguian anthropophagi, of Lapland. Lake dwellings, as we know, are quite prevalent in South America. They are to be seen in the Gulf of Maracaibo and in the estuaries of the Orinoco and the Amazon. Indeed, it was the prevalence of these dwellings along its shores that, as every schoolboy knows, gave the name of Venezuela or Little Venice to the province of that name. But these houses were only used during the short summers, and these same Arctic people who lived in lightly constructed cabins were glad to abandon them in the winter to find shelter in what might be called half-subterranean burrows capped by domes constructed of skins and bark and made stormproof.

The Dindjies, Atnans, Knaïtzes, Kallouches and other American tribes lived in these dome-capped holes or *youtes*, after the manner

of the northern tribes of Asia such as the Kamtchakales and the Tehouktchis. They have changed but little in their mode of living because their frigid climate has offered very little if any inducement to the whites to settle among them. They still preserve the remembrance of their former homes built on piles. Close by their huts, or *youtes*, may still be seen miniature houses with angular roofs perched on piles from two to four feet in height, and suggesting designs drawn from other lands; all the same, the Dindjies no longer live in them. They have converted them into depositories in which to keep their provisions of dried reindeer and fish and their peltry.

Finally, after all our research, we can only say that we have discovered on both shores, the Asiatic and the American, and among people evidently sprung from the same stock, the simultaneous use of stone and ice galleries, of habitations built on piles like those of the Swiss lake dwellers or those found in South America; of the *youtes* or semi-subterranean homes of the Denés and finally, the bark lodges or wigwams. And with all this, we may well imagine that there is more than is necessary to prove that the division of prehistoric epochs is not incontestable, and that it is rather a classification made for the convenience of museums, a mere conventional order simply resting on a conformity of certain objects and useful only to chronology and history. This division may be excellently adopted for the classification of specimens, but it calls for more ample evidence to give it an indubitable value in the eyes of critics.

Let us now see whether the study of the burial places of the hyperborean people of America will reveal to us anything further concerning the origin of these prehistoric people. Prehistoric archæology presents three forms of sepulture, the burial of a body in a crouched position such as that of infants in an antenatal condition; the laying of the body at full length in the grave, and cremation in the dolmen,³ and incineration in the tumuli. It is claimed that the first of these methods is characteristic of the Palæolithic period of the Stone Age; the second belongs to the Neolithic as well as to the Bronze Age and the third belongs to the period of the reindeer, the close of the Stone Age as well as the Bronze Age. To these forms we may be permitted to add burial in the upright posture, in the sitting posture, sometimes facing the east and sometimes the west.

³ The word dolmen in this connection is intended to mean a megalithic monument of unhewn stones set on end or on edge so as to form a receptacle or small chamber and covered with a single huge stone or with several stones. The word cremation as used here, means a partial burning of the cadaver, the flesh burned off the bones. Incineration means the entire reduction of the cadaver to ashes.

These forms of burial in America come down to very recent times. Four of these modes of sepulture may be found to have been practiced simultaneously in America and at a comparatively recent date. Burial in the crouching position has been known in many parts of Europe. In France it prevailed in Var, at Vance in the Charante, where the place of deposit is generally a mortuary chamber covered by a tumulus. At Aveyron and at Lozère the same system is peculiar to dolmens as to tumuli.

In Africa "crouch burial" prevailed among the Touarags; in Asia it was in common use among the Marantras or aborigines of the Malaccan peninsula, but not to the exclusion of other modes of burial.

The Brazilian aborigines, the Guaranians and the Peruvians, buried their dead in a crouching position in womb-shaped urns—indicative of a new birth to an immortal life.

The Caribs of the continent and of the Antilles, the Hurons and the Iroquois deposited their urns in graves or in chambers somewhat suggestive of the columbaria of the pagan Romans in the Catacombs. Crantz tells us that the Greenlanders and other peoples of the northern continent followed the same custom.

Mr. A. Pinart, an intrepid Frenchman, tells us that not so very many years ago he discovered remains that had been buried in caves in the Aleutian Islands. In some cases, however, the bodies were laid on their sides, in the position of a person sleeping.

Among the Dindjies of lower Yukon we find that they buried their dead in a crouched position, but placed them in boxes resting on posts or piles, some three feet high. Several of the Eskimo tribes of the west followed this custom, such as the Malemonts, of the mouth of the Yukon River, among others. A curious fact and one well worthy of note is related by Monsignor Clut, for many years Bishop laboring in the Athabaska-Mackenzie region. The Bishop tells us that he found engraved upon the tombs of the Innuits figures that were easily recognizable as those of the elephant and the monkey. Father Le Covré, a missionary in the same field, also mentions these figures in his reports.

This enumeration of "crouch burial" could be extended indefinitely, but we have said enough to show that this mode of burial was practiced in the four quarters of the earth at the same time, but the details, as we have seen, varied with each country, thus illustrating the theory of diversity in unity.

Burial in the full length posture, as is customary among all civilized nations to-day, is the form most commonly observed in all parts of the world. It consists in laying the body on its back in a simple grave, a tomb built of stone, a tumulus or a natural cave.

In Arctic America it has been and is still practiced in conjunction with the first method above described, among tribes living in proximity to one another, or belonging to the same family or stock. This singularity exists among the Aleutians, where we find some of their dead in the crouching posture and others laid out at full length on moss-covered beds with their faces concealed by a mask. The same may be said of other Eskimo tribes. Their most common mode of burial is to lay the body on the bare ground in a sort of tomb or vault made of flat stones. In some cases, however, the body of the deceased is laid in the ground in some isolated place, and merely covered with the branches of trees and abandoned to its fate in the woods.

The custom of burying their dead in boxes (tssa) raised on poles or posts above the ground, as practiced by the Dindjies, is imitated by their neighbors, the Innuits. The arms, utensils and clothing of the deceased are buried with them. Since their conversion to Christianity these Indians bury their dead under the ground after the manner of the whites. They enclose the graves with a rude fence or an enclosure of palisades. Such are the sepultures of the Christian Algonquins, while their pagan brethren continue to bury in boxes, which they hang from the branches of trees (tree burial) or place on scaffoldings or platforms (platform burial). There is a pious as well as curious practice among the Dindjies, the Innuits, the Atnans and the Knaïtzes. At sunrise and sunset they go to their cemeteries or burial places to mourn over their dead and place beads and broken glass upon the graves. Glass being an object of adornment and luxury among these people, they offer it as a sacrifice or oblation to the manes of their dead; it was also used as an emblem of mourning. Pieces of amber were also scattered over the grave, but these offerings were made at the tombs of distinguished men, and were never given to women or children.

May we not see, in this custom among a people regarded as assimilated to the prehistoric man, the explanation of the masses of silex, broken designedly, and which have been found in some megalithic graves in the Caucasus of Eastern Europe? These are all votive objects, and would seem to suggest an Iberian people.

Archæologists have noticed the fact that in examining the skeletons of the prehistoric men of the Stone Age, the bones of the legs were bowed or bent outwards. This peculiarity has also been observed among the Denés and other American tribes of the Arctic regions, but the Eskimos, the Algonquins and other tribes have perfectly straight legs. Some authorities attribute this curvature of the legs to the use of snowshoes during six or seven months of the year, also to the habit of sitting cross-legged so much of the

time, but this reason is far from convincing. Many Canadians and American white men as well as all the people of the far north of our continent use snowshoes without being affected in this way. The half-breed Iroquois and Algonquins are all affected in this manner, while the half-breed Denés reared in the woods have the outward curvature of the legs as well as the pure savages, while those reared after the manner of the whites have straight legs.

It would be hard to imagine how science accounts for this curvature in man's legs during the Stone Age. Perhaps by a peculiar difference of race, but this is by no means satisfactory. The real reason for this condition among the Denés is not hard to find. By analogy we find all manner of reasons for applying it to prehistoric men. We know that the Dené women were wont to wrap their newly born offspring in a mould or coat filled with lichen, which served them in place of wraps; but, as soon as the child's body began to develop and its back became strong enough to allow it to assume a sitting posture, even with its back resting against something, or even before this, the mother makes for her child a sort of seat which supports the lower part of the body, front and back. This is constructed of strong bark; it obliges the child to sit with its legs tightly crossed. The inner part of this seat or saddle is as primitive as was the lichen receptacle from which the child was transferred. Over this heavy, broad and uncomfortable object, these little children are further dressed in the garment which includes the footgear, the breeches, the upper garment, the mittens, the cap or hood, the whole made of one piece of reindeer or Arctic hare skin, according to the season. The child's pelvis, thus enclosed, at an early age becomes broadened and its haunches assume a noticeable prominence. Now, as he is obliged to accustom himself to walking with his "saddle" about his legs, they naturally acquire an irremediable curvature. For the same reason the toes are very much turned inwards and the chest and neck are forced forward.

Here is the sole reason for the bowed formation of the legs of the Denés. A proof of this may be found among their brethren, the Dindjies. These latter make use of a chair-shaped "saddle," in which the child is literally seated with legs close together and hanging in front. This obliges the Dindjie mothers to carry their infants with their backs resting upon that of the mother, while the Dené mothers carry theirs with their breasts resting upon the mother's back. The result of this method is that the Dindjie child, instead of having his legs bowed outwards, as is the case with the Dené's, has perfectly straight legs, even a little compressed, but the knees are constantly giving under him like those of a sailor or a

mountaineer and the toes very much turned outwards. It is well known that among the tribes whose habitat is the vast prairies of our great Northwest, the papoose is placed in a sort of cradle or basket lined with soft materials and fastened to a board. When necessary, it is strapped to the back of the mother. This same custom prevails among the Iroquois, the Sioux, the Blackfeet, etc. Finally, among the Innuits, the children are carried without any clothing whatever, no clout or "saddle," and this accounts for the straightness of limbs among all the Indian tribes.

Here another problem confronts us. In the sepulchral caves of the megaliths we often encounter this peculiarity: entire skeletons are found standing erect against a heap of human bones, or as in some instances, the bottom of the tomb-cave is filled with bones and an entire skeleton is found standing erect and surrounded by these bones. Archæological lore has not yet been able to account for this fact. The most plausible and the most natural explanation is to be found among the American tribes referred to above. The custom of burial in this manner was found and still prevails among the Dindjies, the Denés, the Algonquins, the Sioux-Iroquois, the Caraibo-Guaranians, who extend from the Floridas to the banks of the Rio de la Plata. How account for the universality of this custom?

In a former paper (October, 1915) I attempted to describe some rites that seemed peculiar to our own American aborigines, but which subsequent researches revealed the fact that they were practiced among uncivilized races dwelling thousands of miles apart and entirely unknown to each other. Let us now take another passing glance at some of these customs.

The "Feast of the Dead" and the "Feast of Souls" was peculiar to the Dené-Dindjie family. In my former paper I referred very briefly to the "Dance of the Dead," to the distribution of offerings and to the rites and festivities that followed. Let us note that all these peculiarities also prevailed in New Caledonia, as we learn from Father Gaguieres, a Marist missionary who labored for many years in that far-off field. In our day our Christian Indians omit the first and last of these lugubrious scenes; they visit, but omit the stripping of the graves, the carrying of the bodies in procession and the translation of the remains to other sepulchres.

In the instance here recorded, the people went in crowds to the cemeteries on the days appointed by the chiefs. This was generally in the spring, after the imaginary return of the manes to the place of their burial. Sometimes these rites took place in the autumn before the departure of the manes, accompanied by the animal buried with them. On arriving at the cemetery, the grave was

opened and the bark coffin uncovered, and the mourners gazed upon the frightful contents in silence. The tribute of tears having been paid, the bones of the dead were carefully scraped and all remaining flesh removed. They were now enveloped in fresh skins and carried processionally through the tents and dwellings of the living, where they were accorded the place of honor, were saluted with great solemnity and received the offerings of the living.

In our day this ancient custom is religiously observed among the Sioux, the Blackfeet and various tribes of the Algonquin family. As late as 1867 the tribes known to the French missionaries (mostly Oblate Fathers) as the *Flancs-de-chien* (dog-ribs), and the *Peaux-de-lièvre* (hares) assembled at the Great Bear Lake and visited the tombs and burial places in its vicinity, as related by that indefatigable missionary, Father Emile Petitot, O. M. I. The Denés, he tells us, have a superstitious fear of the dead, consequently they are satisfied with merely opening the grave, mourning over their dead for several hours and gazing in solemn silence upon the remains, without going through the ceremony of exhumation, as described above. This was followed by eulogies of the dead delivered by their orators, the silent rite and the Death Dance, during which occurred the distribution of offerings.

Curiously enough, the Scottish people of the old stock, a people of Celtic origin, have preserved something of these old-time customs. They also observed the funeral feast, as Sir Walter Scott tells us in his novel entitled "*The Antiquary*." We may be permitted to refer here to the anniversary feasts held in Turkish cemeteries, when the tombs of the dead and the tents of the living visitors are decorated with cypress branches. The old and the young are gathered around the tombs of the loved ones and meat and drink are spread upon them to be partaken of according to the prescribed ritual. It also appears that the customs above referred to were piously observed among the Jews, as evinced in these words of the prophet Jeremias (xvi., 6, 7): "But the great and the little shall die in this land: they shall not be buried or lamented. . . . And they shall not break bread among them to him that mourneth to comfort him for his dead; neither shall they give them to drink of the cup to comfort them for their father and mother." We see from all this that this custom among our uncivilized aborigines really had nothing of barbarism about it, nor was there anything in it that was not purely human and full of sentiment.

We now come to the third stage of the feast, in which the bones, reduced to a small compass, were carried in procession to a common pit or grave, when they were again enveloped in additional wrappings, and the earth thrown over them, but in such a manner,

however, as not to come in immediate contact with the remains. Persons who had been dead less than a year had no share in these honors, doubtless, because the decomposition of the bodies had not proceeded far enough to permit it.

The customs prevalent in Asia, and referred to by Mr. E. Cartailhac in his "Materiaux" (year 1873, p. 91), and described by him as the annual upheaval of graves, no doubt refers to the customs we have alluded to above, although differing from them in some details. On close inspection we may be able to recognize in these customs, spread over three continents, a vestige of the cult of generations long gone by, and which, in a way at least, formed the basis of the religion of the Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartars and the Polynesians or Oceanians.

In this, then, the American aborigine presents nothing very dissimilar to what is found in other lands. The custom among some of the American tribes of placing food upon the graves of the departed is likewise common in Asia and Oceania and we are not without evidence that it was practiced by the Israelites from the time of the captivity, if not prior to this, for we read in Tobias (iv., 18): "Lay thy bread and thy wine upon the burial of a just man and do not eat and drink thereof with the wicked," and the Preacher tells us (Ecclus. vii., 37), that "a gift hath grace in the sight of all living and restrain not grace from the dead"; and again (Ecclus. xxx., 18) he adds that "good things that are hidden in a mouth that is shut are as messes of meat set about a grave."

In Europe during many centuries the primitive Christians followed a similar custom, inherited from their pagan ancestors, but with the Christian it was inspired by supernatural motives. Food and even jewelry were brought to the tombs of the departed to be distributed among the poor and needy as offerings for the suffering souls and to secure the grateful prayers of the recipients in behalf of those for whom the offerings were made. In this, as in many other things, we must admit with the "Preacher" that "there is nothing new under the sun." As a third classification, we may consider the method of burial in an upright or standing position, as it is more closely related to the two methods mentioned above than is incineration, which will be considered later on.

Burial in an upright position, according to Mr. Hildebrand, belongs to the Bronze Age in Scandinavia. It was customary, in these regions, to bury the dead in an upright position, encased in the trunks of oak trees, cut in proper lengths and hollowed out *ad hoc*. This was possibly due to the veneration in which the oak tree was regarded by the Druids of old. The learned Danish doctor, however, ascribes it to the belief prevalent among many

nations of antiquity—notably the Egyptians and Greeks among others—that souls left the bodies they had inhabited and departed in boats. We know that the boats of the prehistoric people were simply what in our day are known as “dugouts.” As an evidence of this we find a boat dug up out of the bottom of the Seine and still preserved in the museum of St. Germain, the antiquity of which is unquestioned. Boat burial, we know, was quite common in Australia, while the Denés of our Mackenzie region were content with simply placing the upturned canoe of the deceased upon his grave. We might recall the fact that in Africa, in Senegal and Gambia, if we are not mistaken, certain tribes among the blacks buried their dead in an upright position and encased in hollowed-out trunks of trees.

The Marantras, or aborigines of the Malaccan Peninsula, observed the same method of burial.⁴ Now, the Dené-Dindjie share the Egyptian belief in the departure of souls in boats so far that they have a saying by which they express the last moments of the dying, thus: “*Bì ya dak’i*” (his soul is going in a canoe).

The Dené-Dindjie, as we have said, sometimes bury their dead in an upright position encased in the trunk of the fir tree or of the balsamic poplar tree, first cut down and adapted to the desired use, then closed up and replanted. Father Petitot tells us that he saw two such tombs in the vicinity of Fort Good Hope, while Mr. Dall mentions others among the tribes of the Yukon River. Mention of such tombs is also met with among the traditions of the Beavers.

According to the legends of the Dené-Peaux-de-Liévre, bodies encased in the trunks of trees in time became mummified. This method was rarely used among them and cannot be regarded as general, as it never was more than due to circumstances, and was exceptional, just as was the case in Scandinavia. This would seem to indicate an additional conformity of custom between the Danes and the American Denés. This same mode of burial, on further investigation, seems to have been practiced only among the later Asiatic immigrants, those who arrived on American soil at a more recent period, for the Dené people, who are the farthest east on this continent, had no knowledge of it whatever. Thus, in 1872, when they learned that the Kalchogottines made one of these burials they were lost in astonishment. The Denés of the Rocky Mountain region, on the other hand, were acquainted with this custom, and there is mention of it among them as far back as 1866.

From what we have been able to gather so far in our researches, we may conclude that the three modes of burial, the crouching, the folded (in which the feet are brought in close contact with the head),

⁴ “*Revue de Philologie*,” Paris, June, 1876, p. 114.

the outstretched and the upright, have existed and still exist simultaneously in North America, in caverns, in graves, in sarcophagi, in rough-hewn boxes supported on piles, under the earth and above it, and finally, in the trunks of trees hollowed out, closed, recovered and replanted.

If we examine the methods of cremation and incineration, we shall find, among the same peoples, a similar variety of forms and usages, and this not only among the same people but among their neighbors as well, just as we have noted the differences in the cases cited above. In all this we have discovered no continuity of usage, no one form generally followed, and consequently nothing that will warrant the establishment of archæological periods or ages as they are understood by the Danish savants. All we can see in this, if the methods were not the result of caprice and circumstance, is that they were customs peculiar to the people: to men of varied nations who later on became consolidated into a single people.

In a remarkable report,⁵ Prof. W. Schmidt shows and proves that the two rites, burial and incineration, were constantly in vogue, not only throughout all Scandinavia, but also in Germany, Britain, Southern Gaul, Russia, the Caucasus region and Northern Africa, and this not only during the Bronze Age, but even as far back as the end of the period of the dolmens. This would seem to be enough to open the eyes of inveterate epoch-makers. Dr. Prunières has likewise learnedly called attention to the fact that the dolmens, attributed to the age of polished stone and the tumuli of the Bronze Age, are close together in the department of Lozière; that the brachycephalic⁶ race that carried bronze into the land of the Gauls also introduced the rite of incinerating the bodies of the dead, and that through their influence "these same people . . . modified their sepultures."

According to Prof. W. Schmidt, Asia up to this time has revealed no traces of incineration except in India, and consequently this learned professor assumes that the starting point of this funeral rite should be Hindustan. We might remind our readers of the fact that the mortuary monuments of Asia have not received the careful study that has been bestowed upon those of Europe. Moreover, whatever may be said by the learned writer above cited, we find that among the Israelites the rite of incineration that was accorded to kings as an honor was a general custom, as we see in words of

⁵ Rites Funéraires des Temps Pre-historiques en Scandinavie et dans le mond entres. Matériaux, October, 1873.

⁶ A short-headed race said to have inhabited Europe before the Celts. "For all extremes of the varieties of cranial forms Retzius proposed the names of brachy-kephalic, or short-headed, and dolico-kephalic, or long-headed, which have come into present use." Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia.

the prophet Jeremias to King Sedecias: "Thou shalt not die by the sword, but thou shalt die in peace, and according to the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings that were before thee, so shall they burn thee . . . and Jeremias the prophet spoke these words to Sedecias, King of Juda in Jerusalem" (Jere. xxxiv., 4, 5, 6).

Now this rite having been practiced by the Hebrews, it would seem almost impossible that it should not have been observed by the Chaldeans and Persians, a race of fire-worshippers, and who, according to their religious dogmas, must have considered it a great blessing to be reabsorbed after death by the chief agent of light. In any case, it is evident that the Hebrews did not borrow their rites from the old Egyptians, who, as is well known, committed their dead to their final resting places only after being carefully embalmed.

Be it as it may, we can admit with Prof. Schmidt that the people that introduced incineration came from Central Asia, just as we can admit with M. Montillet that the race that introduced bronze came from the same continent. And we shall see, further on, that the rite of incineration in America is also of Asiatic origin, as was the knowledge of bronze or copper. After an examination of certain objects, Prof. Montillet discovered instruments or tools which he claims indicate a knowledge of Buddhism. Very true, and we also find vestiges of the same cult in America. Vestiges of Brahmanism have also been found in our country among the Kal-louches and Matelpas of the great Northwest, tribes evangelized by the Oblate Fathers. They have also been discovered among the Mandans and the Blackfeet. Of this we have proof positive.

That the race that introduced incineration was a race of conquerors is evident, Dr. Schmidt tells us, inasmuch as the rite of cremation progressed slowly in a large part of Europe; in Italy, perhaps, but certainly in the Alps and in Gaul. It encountered considerable opposition for a long time, but a reaction was effected among the Etruscans, vanquished by the Romans. Finally, the Romans returned to ground burial in the second century (Materiaux, 1875, p. 450).

The learned doctor might have added that it was owing to the influence of Christianity that this change was brought about, as the pagans continued to burn their dead even down to the fourth century. The results obtained by the labors of archæologists in making comparative studies have proved very satisfactory. It is, however, hardly possible that the mere examination of mute tombs can tell us much more on this subject. The problem, though a little cleared up, is not yet solved in Europe. If the question still crops up as to which brachycephalic race, which race of bronze and incinera-

tion, which megalithic race of the East spread out to the bounds of the West and from the North we encounter an unsolvable enigma—unless, perhaps, we seek its solution in American ethnography.

Here in America we are, in fact, more fortunate in resources than our European brethren. Through the means of comparison afforded us in the study of the monuments, the customs and rites of Asiatics and Europeans, we possess the advantage available through verbal testimony, tradition and we might add of history, a history, it is true, not found in books, but which is preserved most vividly in the memory of the aborigines. We may safely assume, then, from the means of information within our reach, that cremation or incineration were not unknown on our continent. We know that among the Dené-Dindjie, which from north to south exhibit a strong leaning towards ground burial, there were certain tribes, however, and that not so very long ago, that incinerated their dead. These were the tribes that dwelt in the valleys and along the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, such as the Carriers, the Atnans, the Barberies. The Dené-Porteurs (carriers) owe their very name, Talkkaoli, to their ancient custom of *carrying* the ashes of their ancestors in little pouches made of skins hanging from their necks. Widows were wont to carry the ashes of their departed lords and masters in little bags hanging down their backs. Their compound name of Dené-Carriers, or Talkkaoli, may be rendered in English as “people who carry bags or things hanging from their necks.”

We may assume, as a matter of fact, that this custom among the Denés may be traced to the influence of their nearest neighbors on the West, such as the Kallouches, Tahilkat and to the Flatheads of the Pacific Zone, who, like the Eskimo-Cachomats, also deform their heads and ordinarily practice cremation. Mr. Alphonse Pinart tells us that he found on Vancouver Island, probably among the Nawates and the Mancres, tribes of the Kallouche family, the same customs that characterized the Carriers.⁷ We also know that the Kallouche people living near the source of the Yukon practiced cremation. It is a curious fact that among these people the object of cremation was to secure a comfortable temperature for the remains of their dead, which would seem to confirm the statement attributed to some missionaries that the hell of these people was a glacial region, and that they were often obliged to represent heaven to them as a place of eternal warmth so as to make it attractive.

The Kallouches, or Kagus, which may be considered as belonging to one branch of the Eskimo family, present three facts which are well worthy of careful attention: they practiced incineration; they

⁷ Matériaux, 1875, p. 411.

retained the use of copper, and they deformed their heads by artificial means. Besides this, they are of more recent date on American soil than the Dené-Dindjie. Then, too, they are identified with them to a certain extent, as their vocabulary abounds in expressions that are purely Dené. The strongest proof that the Dené-Dindjies, the Algonquins and even the great Sioux-Iroquois family have never practiced cremation as a national custom is to be found in their belief, confirmed by their acts, since they burned only their enemies and prisoners of war. In this we may detect a usage and a tradition diametrically opposite to the usages and traditions held in honor among the people of the Bronze period.

We may further conclude that these are vestiges of human sacrifices inflicted on prisoners of war as found in the sacrificial mounds in the valley of the Mississippi, and further, that sacrifices were offered to the moon, the cult of which has not yet disappeared from among some of the aboriginal tribes. It is well known that some of these customs prevailed in the West. Are we not told that the Samothenians, a race of moon worshipers, as well as the Druids of Britain, immolated upon their altars strangers, slaves and captives? And Mr. Morey tells us that even the Mexicans burned their dead.⁸ Whatever may have been the practice in the Mississippi valley, we know that "wherever cremation was one of the rites held in honor, urns to hold the ashes of the deceased were found in all the graves."⁹

Our researches, so far, have shown us that incineration was practiced in the same lands and at the same time as were the three modes of sepulture referred to above. Another noticeable fact: the method of incineration among the Kallouches was purely Hindu. The cadaver was consumed on an elevated pyre and its ashes were placed in a leather pouch and suspended from the branches of a tree. This method is common among the Kallouches, the Naaskas, the Tongoes and the Tchilkat, but the Kallouches-Tingenans keep the ashes near their *youtes*, and in boxes suggestive of the mortuary cists or bronze coffins of the Himalayas, as well as those used by their ancestors.

In the Himalayas, between Assam and Sylket, according to Mr. C. B. Clarke, the Khassia, an indigenous people and an older race than the Tamoils, preserve the bodies of their dead in cists, which are placed near their dwellings after the manner of the Tongians. The ashes of the women, however, are separated from those of the men, and deposited near the door of the house. This recalls an almost similar practice among the natives of Paumoltes, described by Father Montolon, of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart. Is

⁸ Congr s de Nancy, Vol. II., p. 260.

⁹Nadaillac's *Prehistoric America*.

it to be associated with a practice, long since abandoned by the Denés, of putting in the mouths of their deceased the words: "We sleep our last sleep; but we sleep apart"?

The Khassias erect megaliths, slabs set up in straight lines or as enclosures, oval, round or semi-circular, similar to the cromlechs of Scandinavia, the Celts, Gauls, Berbers and other peoples in various parts of the world, and almost similar ones are to be found among the Eskimo-Cacholots. As the Dené-Dindjies and the Khagu, or Kallouches, stood to one another in the various relations of conquerors and slaves, we have in them another and more modern example to add to the list of ancient peoples, who, like the Cimmerians, "while practicing grave-burial, became initiated, by reason of the advent of a new people among them who practiced incineration, into the adoption of different rites from their own" (Mat., 1875, p. 441). But, owing to the very limited number who adopted the system, we may assume that the rites and customs of the conquerors met with strong opposition on the part of the conquered before they were even partially adopted. Conditions here seem to have followed the same course as in Europe. Incineration, although it existed in America at the same time as burial, may be regarded as belonging to a race foreign to that which buried its dead. This method prevailed only in the extreme western part of North America, in the vicinity of the great peninsula of Alaska, and was confined within the limits of the narrow zone between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean.

We may conclude, from all this, that the mode of incinerating cadavers in America is entirely of Asiatic and Hindu origin. As to cremation, pure and simple, we see vestiges of it in the human bones found in the mounds. A people, now Asiatic, but who may at some time have occupied American territory, in all probability introduced upon this continent the customs or rites we have seen in our day, and these people we have every reason to believe, were such as the Khassias of the Himalayas, and also, not improbably, Celts of the dolmen period. We must bear in mind, however, that this was an honor rendered only to personages of distinction. The cadavers of common people and of culprits were thrown in out-of-the-way places to become the prey of wild beasts and rapacious birds, a custom observed likewise among the people of Thibet.

The Russian admiral, Van Wrangall, gives us some very interesting information concerning the Eskimo-Cacholots, information confirmed by the well-known trader, Mr. W. H. Dale. As the admiral's account is of comparatively recent date, we may well refer to it here. From this account we find among the Eskimo-Cacholots two kinds of megaliths, somewhat like the cromlechs of

Britain, and those of the Himalayas. They consist of enclosures, oval or circular, formed of dressed stones. It is here that they expose the remains of their dead, those who have received the honors of cremation. A new stone is set up for every new cadaver. We may, therefore, estimate the number of bodies in the megalith by the number of stones set up. Only men receive this honor; women are buried and culprits are thrown in out-of-the-way places and become the prey of rapacious birds and beasts.¹⁰

The "shaman," or medicine man, performs his jugglery. After laying an offering of reindeer fat on each memorial slab, he goes through a variety of shameless dances, accompanied by violent contortions, until he falls from sheer exhaustion. The spectators now proceed to roast the reindeer and devour it in common among the lithoidal effigies of their ancestors. The ceremonies close with a series of harangues. Another rite described by the same traveler and which will explain how it happens that among the megalithic slabs called cromlechs, karmacks, etc., of Western Europe, there are often found traces of fire and ashes mingled with the bones of ruminants as well as with human bones calcined and blackened. We see in this unmistakable evidence of real human sacrifices, the victims of which were either aged or useless people. The admiral goes on to describe how the victim is taken to a stone oval, the interior of which has been hollowed out to a slight depth and lined with lichen. Two large stones are set up, one at the head and the other at the feet of the victim, who is thus deprived of all power of motion. Two poles are now placed parallel to each other, under the victim, and to these two ropes are attached. A reindeer is killed and its blood poured over the stone at the head. The victim, as we see, is laid on his back, his arms and legs fastened to the stone oval and when firmly secured, he is asked whether he still persists in his desire to die, because this sacrifice must be entirely voluntary. If the answer is affirmative, his nostrils are filled with a stupefying drug, the brachial artery opened and the patient is left to bleed to death. If the victim had been an honorable man, his friends gave him the *coup de grace* and thus ended the sacrifice. Tallow and light lichen and small twigs are placed on and under the cadaver, the whole is then set on fire and the cadaver is burned to the point where incineration begins. This is what we understand by cremation. We may add that if the victim recoiled from the sacrifice and answered in the negative, he was immediately released and the reindeer was sacrificed in his place, after the manner of Abraham, in compensation for the disappointment ("Alaska," p. 383).

These details are very suggestive of the customs prevalent among

¹⁰ Alaska, p. 382, et seq.

the Eskimos and the Celts, who also sacrificed the aged on the tables of their dolmens to their terrible Dis, the Father of Night.¹¹ They also accord, in many respects, with the description given by Mr. Clarke of the funeral piles of the Khassias of the Himalayas. This learned traveler tells us, further, that in former times when piles were rude, oval in form and enclosed with rough stones, as they were only to be used once, after which they were permitted to fall to pieces, and they formed the artificial stone heaps scattered over the barren sands. Doll tells us the same thing about the oval piles of the Tuski or Eskimo-Cacholots. Hence we see that among the races of India, as well as among the Khagu or the Kallouches and the Denés, this rite presents features of Asiatic origin. But we can say as much of the same rite among the Scandinavians and Celts.

Father Petitot, the indefatigable Oblate missionary, to whom I am indebted for much of the material in this article, has made the most exhaustive researches and has examined the question of the Asiatic origin of the American Indian in all its phases, and I have embodied his conclusions somewhat as follows: In view of the comparisons the good father has given us, aided by his studies of the hyperborean people of America, he seems to discover the following peripatetic phases in the history of the Dené-Dindjies and that of the Innuits:

In the first place he brings before us a race with unsteady, nervous legs, bowed outwards; flat heads, thrown backwards and conic occiputs, receding foreheads and otherwise resembling the unknown race of the Stone Age of northern Europe—a people who came to America from the West by way of the chain of the Aleutian Islands, fleeing before another race which had, up to this time, held it in bondage and which it pursued relentlessly even on the continent on which it had sought refuge.

This latter is a race of gigantic proportions, with large heads, which it deforms by artificial means, as do our Flatheads. These people went entirely nude, and used metal weapons, bucklers, cuirasses and casques. They made trophies of the heads of their prisoners of war, which they preserved and dried by a process known to them. They disfigured their faces with incisions after the manner of the Huns; they had some notions of navigation and dwelt in *youtes* or structures half above and half below the ground. They had for their totems the otter, the badger and the crow.

The Denés looked upon this race with contempt and described it as a "nation of women, a race of dogs." May we not recognize

¹¹ *Etudes historiques*, p. 498, d'après Tertullien et Auguste.

in it the Caraib race, to which belong the Kallouches and Innuits? These people are circumcised and practice incineration as well as burial in the "crouching" position. They may be compared to the copper race of Europe.

The race with small heads that fled before them is the Dené. These people are relatively moral, possess traditions and their customs are Hebraic or Chaldean—circumcision prevailed among others. They dwell in tents or huts and their totem is the wolf and the American wolf dog, which they recognize as the offspring of the wolf. This people practices burial in the outstretched posture, the body either lying at full length or folded over so that the head and feet come together. The race is mixed with a foreign element and is uncircumcised. It settled first on the shores of the Pacific, living near its enemies, the Kallouches and the Eskimos.

Secondly, Father Petitot tells us that a part of the Dené people appears to have remained a longer time in Asia and to have amalgamated with elements which they describe as white men, black men and yellow men, a classification borne out by an examination of the national types. They came to America by way of Behring Strait, which we may credit because their traditions mention only straits and crossing from one shore to another on "bridges of ice." They differ from the Denés in that they are strongly mixed with foreign blood; the latter, however, recognize them as of the same race with themselves. They are the Dindjies, Doëna, Dnaïne and the Knaïtz.

Furthermore, these people brought with them wrought metal, and came by a gradual and protracted immigration. They practiced circumcision, to a certain extent, at least, and their traditions have a historical character. They have massive and broad heads, the occiput naturally flat and have every appearance of belonging to the Celtic types of the early Iron period of the North of Europe.

Thirdly, the Dené-Dindjie tribes dwelling together in the vicinity of the Copper River, near the Pacific coast, separated, owing notably to the increase of new arrivals, and separation from their associates. The Dindjies claimed that harmony prevailed between them and the Innuits until, one day, when a young Dindjie, wishing to feather his arrows, shot a crow, the protecting genius of the Innuits. This was enough to stir up a war and create a feeling of hostility that never ended. The Denés claim that this secession between the tribes was due to an act of cannibalism, that produced a feeling of horror among them.

I think I have made this article long enough to give my critics something to think about and a good opportunity to question the ground I have taken. The last word, however, has not been said,

and will not be said for a long time to come. I have tried to bring out some facts not generally found in the many books published about the American Indian. They deal largely with "adventures," interesting to the general reader but of little use to the student. Some tell in a cursory way something about the "manners and customs," and an occasional very brief mention of the existence of Catholic missions.

Yet it is to the Catholic missionary that we must go if we would know the history and traditions of uncivilized races. Hence, I have consulted Father Emile Petitot, O. M. I., the well-known historian of the glacial regions. The Oblate Fathers (O. M. I.) have had almost exclusive charge of the cold and desolate missions of the Arctic Zone for many years. The Vicariate of Athabaska-Mackenzie was detached in 1862 from the vast Diocese of St. Boniface, and in 1901 Athabaska and Mackenzie were again divided into separate Vicariates. Before this latter division the united Vicariate was bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by Hudson's Bay and on the south by the heights that limit the Mackenzie basin. The first Mass celebrated in this region was said by Father Taché, who later on became Archbishop of St. Boniface. During a visit of three weeks he baptized 194 natives.

The first Bishop of Athabaska-Mackenzie was Monsignor Faraud, who had as his coadjutor Monsignor Clut, both Oblate missionaries, who spent many trying years evangelizing the aborigines of that and the adjacent regions. The motto of the Oblates is "Evangelizare pauperibus misit me," and well have these good fathers lived up to it. Their motto is the same as that of the great St. Vincent de Paul, and his spirit of charity seems to have filled the souls of the missionaries of the frozen North. They have labored "in season and out of season," in hunger and cold, enduring all manner of privations. Evangelization has been their work and they have done it, and are still doing it, heroically. They are not troubled with the daily life of their Eskimo, "what he shall eat or what he shall drink or wherewithal he shall be clothed." The Eskimo knows best what is suited to his climate and his comforts. The missionary is concerned with his soul. Mr. Vilhjälmar Stefánson, in his book entitled "My Life Among the Eskimos" (p. 24), tells us that "the Church of Rome has a much stronger hold upon the people [than other missionaries] partly, no doubt, because of its earlier introduction in the country, and because also of the greater resources for doing the work. After many years of observation of the labors of missionaries, I am inclined to the view that with the other churches the excellence of the results depends

primarily upon the individual at any particular place, but that the Church of Rome has a system that produces results to some degree independent of the personality of the man. One weakness of other missionaries in general is that they come from cities and other places with crystalized notions of exactly what must be done and exactly how every one must live and act under no matter what conditions. . . . The three commandments: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' 'Thou shalt keep the Sabbath holy,' and 'Thou shalt eat thy potato with a fork' impose themselves with equal vividness upon the aborigines and are likely to be considered by them to be means of grace of coördinate value. But the missionaries of the Church of Rome seem less concerned about these unessentials. They are no less concerned than the missionaries of other churches about getting the Indians to change their religious views, but they seem less inclined to waste their strength in trying to persuade him to change the color of his coat. The net result of this difference is shown entirely in favor of the Church of Rome."

If the learned writer just quoted knew a little more about the "missionaries of the Church of Rome," he would know that they *do* "come from cities and other places," where they are trained for the special work they are to do before they are permitted to undertake it. They must know something about the country in which they are to labor, its climate, its people, their manners and customs; they must have an idea, at least, of their language, of their diseases and how to treat them; they must be willing to go out into the wilderness to hunt up the stray sheep and they must be prepared to suffer all manner of privations and hardships in order to win souls to Christ. Among these hardships is solitude—isolation from the haunts of civilized men. I once heard the late Monsignor Benson say that one of the things that most attracted him to the Catholic Church was the sight of a solitary chapel on the banks of the Nile, far away from Christian life. Beside the chapel stood a humble hut—the abode of the missionary, who dwelt here "alone with God," ministering to his black children of the vicinity.

No, the missionary of the Church of Rome is not to be found in the settlements alone. In the wilderness, "under a towering oak," may be seen "the Black Robe chief and his children, a Crucifix fastened high on the trunk." This is his "rude chapel," and here he gathers the wild children of lake and forest—*his* children, the sheep and the lambs he has been commanded to "find." He gathers them into the "one fold and under one Shepherd."

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PERSONALITY IN ETHICAL THEORY.

THOSE who minimize the influence of religion in men's lives substitute "ethical" where formerly we used to write "religious." Ethical has become synonymous in this transfer with the vague, the shadowy, the aspirational, the ideal in a loose sense, or, where some attempt is made to be more definite, with the "social." The notion that religion and morality covered different spheres of human activity was really due to Hobbes. Recent speculation has tended to emphasize the separation under the strong conviction that the older morality is no longer available for modern needs, because it was interpreted too much in terms of individual selfishness and too little in terms of social altruism. Of course, no one must be told that it is not in reality possible to cut off religion from morality. What we do is to give a new content to religion. If we will not have a God in the heavens, we fashion gods from our human and social institutions.

So far as we wish to give ethical personality a structure and functioning of its own, we may describe it, psychologically, as a consciousness of our relations to other persons, to the world and to God, whence emerges a system of values for the regulation of conduct. These values form the material of moral judgments. The latter are always accompanied by the psychological necessity of assuming an attitude. This is responsibility. As a still further consequence, the ethical person becomes a subject of rights and duties. Before detailing the characteristics of ethical personality, we must be clear about some introductory matter.

In the first place, it is tritely obvious that conduct, to be ethically intelligible, must be conduct directed to some end. The immediate ends of action we cannot ignore without doing violence to common sense. The prevalent custom of viewing ends as "survivals" is distinctly misleading. Of what conceivable educative use is a beneficial survival unless it is perceived to be the term of new activity on the part of some consciousness? And we cannot say that ethical progress goes on without consciousness. Selection is no abstract process, and unless we allow for some sort of conscious selection we might as well give up all hope of moral education. In other words, full recognition must be accorded the fact that the individual himself is a determinant of variations, the results of his own peculiar interest in activity. Now, if instead of considering isolated acts, motives and judgments, we make the process extend over a whole lifetime, the same conclusion holds. Only we must then avoid supposing that the teleological aspect of conduct implies completed development. "Progress is so manifestly an act, habit or condition

of the evolving subject itself that it would be absurd to think that the scholastics made no provision for a subjective final end; they expressly describe the attainment of the final end as a soul act."¹ For the present it does not matter whether the scheme of ends lies wholly within or partly without the universe.

Granting that experience constantly reveals purposes which exercise a controlling influence over particular forms of ethical expression, the question still remains as to how the connection between ends and conduct comes to be regarded as necessary. Involved in this problem is not only the fact that some acts are good and some bad, according as they realize the end or not; but also the further fact that we are bound to perform the good acts. Naturally, "if life is an object of desire for men, all that tends to maintain and promote life becomes hypothetically necessary. These hypothetical imperatives become assertory the moment one adds: *de facto* man wishes to live and be happy."² But since this hypothetical series of things that tend to promote and maintain life is not closed by the individual, but by the nature of things, we must still explain the relation of the former to the latter and the source of necessity between ends and personal conduct. A few illustrative solutions will help to clarify the situation.

Every one will remember the view, formerly very popular, that because the cosmic order is self-sufficient, man's conduct is to be judged and governed by precisely the same principles that rule all other manifestations of natural energy. This led to the adoption of physical energy as the ideal type of natural manifestation. Conduct works on the same principles as machinery. The best way to describe it is simply to say that it happens. In the physical sciences it is sufficient, if events are interpreted according to their serial conjunctions, but on this level alone they are no more ethically intelligible than the interminable wheel of Buddha. It is only as facts are related to some consciousness with a norm of valuation that they reveal those fitnesses from which are deduced the comparative excellences of ethics. We can understand why Herbert Spencer's brave programme about determining "from the laws of life and the conditions of existence what kinds of action necessarily tend to produce happiness" is so disappointing. Where are we to start? What is existence for? Are all types of fact equally important in determining the laws of life and the conditions of existence? Shall we regard the happiness of the millionaire in the pleasures of consumption, or of the artist in the enjoyment of production, or of the philosopher in the satisfaction of contemplation as the ideal

¹ M. Cronin, "The Science of Ethics," New York, 1910, Vol. I., p. 64.

² A. Fouillée, "Les Elements Sociologiques de la Morale," second edition, pp. 21-22.

type? And if all types are valuable, what norms shall guide accurate generalizations and secure stability? Are moral laws simply compromise conclusions from the ups and downs of history? These are questions which must obviously be decided in advance.

Experience is, indeed, a stern teacher. Moreover, any moral code is effective only in proportion as it reflects the needs and the constitution of actual human nature. A moral law conceived from above or from the outside, if such were possible, without any relation to the problems and conditions of our life here in the world, could in no sense be a source of obligation to anybody. But how we can inhale or absorb morality from the facts, without any previous principles of course or direction, is a difficulty which not even E. B. Holt's dramatic vindication of the ethics of the dust can remove. There is a great deal of attractive talk about dirt and sweat, but one cannot escape the conviction that the perspiration is athletic. Every one who has really struggled for character, fought to make his conduct realize even proximate and worldly aims knows that his ideals as frequently as not fly in the teeth of what is concretely useful. For the moment the man seems isolated, out of joint with the whole system.

A similar explanation of the relation of "oughtness" between end and act is that which reduces moral obligations to the category of biological needs. It is open to the same objections. Mr. Folsom concludes a little too hastily that the urging of the moral obligation is no more than the impulse to eat. This has meaning if duty is a physical instead of a moral necessity. It is impossible, with our mental equipment such as it is, to conceive the physical necessity of doing good, since men as a matter of fact frequently do evil. Even in cases where we do avoid wrong, and do it rather habitually, there is more to the process than simply shunning poisonous edibles. Of course, it is supposed that if man had perfect knowledge he would be in the same condition psychically as an organism fully equipped physically. So, Mr. Folsom says, man "must learn to worry more about his ignorance than about his badness of motives."³ This is a variation of the knowledge theory of ethics, proposed every now and again in the history of morals. Knowledge becomes a substitute for responsibility. Thus, Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, in the middle of the last century, would have made men think and act God through a knowledge of physics, astronomy and natural history. We have more refined forms of theory at present. We use now the concepts of ideo-motor action, imitation and suggestion. There is a certain confidence that an idea will be realized in behavior, if only we can get it into the mind and keep

³ "The Am. Jour. of Soc.," Jan., 1918, pp. 436, 490.

antithetical ideas out. There is a measure of speculative worth in all this, but we are equally aware from experience, actual and historical, that ideas of good acts do not always create good acts. To think that a knowledge of the universe will inevitably engender a desire to live the purposes of the universe has always been the dream of poets. The men who deal with life as it is, the statesmen, jurists, physicians, priests, have too often been painfully aware of a tendency to the very opposite.

The gist of all such attitudes is that moral propositions simply repeat experience, and that their urgency arises from our being parts of a universe or a humanity that is moving to some ideal end. We doubt the power of this philosophy as a practical rule of life for the individual. It is too vague. It does not satisfy certain ethical situations that any man knows to be essentially internal. It does not give definite shape to the real circumstances of any individual life, for it denies to the individual an end of his own and establishes the moral law as a contrivance for the benefit of the species. A morality that deals in worlds, the laws of which are intended for the movements of masses, cannot conveniently be made the basis of obligatory ideals, the practical application of which is binding on us through all the minute circumstances that urge to action.

Catholic philosophers have always endeavored to avoid such neglect of the individual. They asserted that the ultimate end of all human action is external, but they did not identify this end with the triumph of the species. The end is related to every agent. To put the matter in the metaphysical language of the schoolmen: "In order to form the judgment—the good ought to be done—we require to realize mentally a final necessity, *i. e.*, a necessary connection of means with end, such that without the means the end cannot be obtained. But is this connection enough? What if the end be not itself necessary? Shall we then be compelled to admit an 'ought'? Study is necessary to science, but is science necessary? If it is not, in what sense can you say that study is necessary? Its necessity is merely hypothetical. But moral necessity is an absolute necessity—a thesis, not a hypothesis. It arises from an end to which every will tends with real necessity. . . . Moral obligation may therefore be defined as an 'ought' resulting from the necessary connection of means with a necessary end."⁴ Later on we may be forced to admit a *personal* element into the external source of responsibility and obligation. For the present it is sufficient if we remember that no *necessity* is valuable from our human standpoint unless it involves the individual in the scheme. We must adjust the moral order to single minds and wills. "For this beginning we

⁴ Taparelli, quoted in M. Cronin, *op. cit.*, Vol I, p. 212.

can allow no other: no pretended interpretation of the plan of the world, from which, as if it were possible for us, the obligatory commandments of our behavior might be deduced; still less that silly and offensive custom which at present plumes itself with so great aplomb on descending into the entertaining incidents of natural history, and—out of a tendency to ascending development which is imagined to have been discovered in the animal world—construing the summit, which logically ought to form the behavior of humanity. If we could not find in our own conscience the irrevocable criterion of our moral judgment, we should certainly not get it from the beasts; for what observation of them might teach us that the series of development we suppose we find in them goes upward to the perfect, and not downwards to the bad, we could know, only if it were beforehand completely clear to us, which we should regard as the better and the worse end of this scale.”⁵

We should now be in a fairer position for constructing a positive concept of the ethical person. The latter is, first of all, one who possesses within himself rational intuitions and ideals that are surely the results of purely internal forces, that “need no other proof but their own evidence.” The intuitionist is undoubtedly psychologically correct on this point. The stock of such intuitions is necessarily small, and consists only of those truths of the moral order known as fundamental and primary. But that they are rational in origin, or “inner relations,” as some prefer to call them, is as true as the fact that there are no other pathways along which they could have come, or at least could have come in the final and apodictical form in which they appear in consciousness. These intellectual certitudes persuade us as principles known to be true, and it was a crime to carry them over from the domain of intuitive rational *knowledge* to that of *blind belief* or mere instinctive feeling.

All else is growth. The individual, like the race, rises step by step. Each conquest has brought into clearer view still other heights of moral achievement, and motives for further triumphs are found in past victories. But while the advocates of real personality attribute the principle of growth to the constructive power of human reason working on its native intuitions, those who reduce personality to consciousness would conceive the gradual perfecting of conduct-control as due to environmental influence. A favorite method is to build up a scheme of behavior that embraces simply a system of instinctive reactions, unattended by any concept, however obscure. No one to-day finds great difficulty in admitting that the instinctive processes are useful for explaining many forms of

⁵ Herman Lotze, quoted in W. Wallace, “Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics,” Oxford Ed., p. 508.

conduct. Formerly it was considered a fatal defect that instincts could give rise only to isolated acts, each one blind and fortuitous. Keener study has revealed the fact that even though fundamentally an instinctive tendency may be unaccompanied by any clear conception of the purpose served, instincts are always forming themselves into a network, which shows that the apprehending power of reason is not absent wholly from the process. Instincts, modified by experience, are no longer blind, and where there is memory, there should also be some expectation of consequences. This would apparently save the process from being merely mechanical and would ultimately permit of conscious development. But it falls far short of being an adequate theory of the origin and nature of morality.

It is not possible here to treat instincts exhaustively. Many will instantly object to the hasty manner in which rational processes are reduced to instinctive categories by the thinkers of our time. We may, of course, so broaden the logical content of instinct as to include all the actions which a man performs, even those carried out in response to an idea, but this is evidently an arbitrary extension of the instinctive operation. When we are told that the elementary constitution of instinctive conduct does not permit of the intrusion of idea forces, and when we remember that the conscious accommodations in instinctive tendencies constitute a region about which we are as yet poorly informed, we may be pardoned for refusing to surrender with *a priori* justification or conclusive experimental evidence a situation where the facts cohere with tolerable clearness for one in which the only excuse for obscurity is the dim hope that reason may finally be revealed as of the same flesh and blood as instincts. The intuitive reason is practically coextensive with all the workings of sense: an obscure concept is practically simultaneous with our first feelings and sensations. Intuitive reason acts in, through and with sense in the acquisition of knowledge, even though the discursive reason acts after sense in the elaboration of data acquired by reason and sense together. Here we have the fallacy of purpose and procedure characteristic of the whole reductionist movement, the fallacy of *separating* the work of reason and the work of sense. It is sufficient condemnation to point it out. Furthermore, if, as William James said, instincts seem to be implanted for the sake of forming habits, the need for an accompanying authority over the result, more definite than what is provided by the workings of the instincts themselves, becomes all the more imperative. It is very well to assert that all will come out right in the end because instincts represent racial habits. But aside from the fact that some reactions

are preserved which are useless or positively disadvantageous, "instincts are often carried out in a bungling fashion and in the face of circumstances clearly fatal to the successful issue."⁶ Where are we to find the inhibitory power so essential to moral growth?

Ethically, then, instinctive action does not contain sufficient directive power, or rather clearly presupposes such power, to respond to right as against wrong. Bullying and cruelty issue just as easily and naturally from the same source that impels the justifiable acquisition of food. Collecting and hoarding, also developed in connection with food-getting tendencies, lead just as readily to miserliness. The kind of moral ideas we want demands more than the "indefinite and unpredictable susceptibility to modification from environing conditions, with an equally uncertain submission to conscious guidance." Certainly those intuitive ideals in our moral consciousness that fly in the face of experience, that are not so much summaries of the past as incentives for the future, could never have risen in that way. Progressive human behavior requires more than the mere conscious adaptation of means to ends. It demands also the capacity to abstract and generalize over a large number of situations. If self-control is to mean anything, it must imply, besides the activity of memory, reflection and inference, the directive work of intelligence, intervening to transform native reactions in accordance with the thought and volition of the individual. Popular evolution used to picture ethical progress as a passage from almost absolute moral anarchy. That such a chaotic state of affairs ever existed is now denied by most competent students. Men could never have been without the help entirely of rational interpretation, combining in no matter how small a degree deduction with induction, passing from causes to effects, from principles to consequences. Temperament, impulse, training, climate, all need to be brought down, directly or indirectly, to reason, with its evidence and intellectual justifications.

Great caution is needed to keep us from excesses. All valuable coördinations, even some commonly regarded as moral, do not have to be intellectual in origin. Parental behavior, for instance, would appear to be easily explicable on instinctive grounds. However, where we put a value on conduct, the latter should then be considered moral. The distinction between the facts of human conduct and the worth of conduct should be borne in mind. The ethical question regards what conduct should be. This may come, of course, after our experience of certain actions, but experience itself cannot originate the moral value. It does no more than present us with the facts in the case. Our moral judgments may

⁶ J. R. Angell, "Psychology," p. 342.

be efficient even when opposed to experience. Probably most men will continue to view sitting by the sick bedside as an utterly worthy act, despite the edict of modern psychologists that so to sit is an irrational relic from an original impulse, once justified as a form of mutual aid advantageous to the group's survival. The big thing about conduct is not what happens, but why it happens. To get at the answer to this query, it is necessary to turn up and down, round and about, the elements of experience. In this sense, surely, reason, and not unthinking habits, is the ground of our inner moral existence.

The reason that thus functions intuitively, constructively and purposively in moral consciousness does not rely for its superiority on any such artificial distinction as Butler would have made between the lower and higher parts of our nature. Nor is it the far-off recluse of ultra-intellectualist of the type of Cudworth, Wollaston and Clarke. It works side by side with every other manifestation of the self. It is the ever-present accompaniment of all the other faculties. The defender of the social origin of morality pictures reason, in the older thought, as occupied with a few shadowy, cognitive wants. But the scholastic concedes the interrelation, to some extent, of reason with all human activity. He admits, like everybody else, that "there is normally attached to the ethical intuition an emotional state which may be styled the moral sentiment, provided this term be properly understood. Reverence or awe in the presence of a ruling authority, admiration for the good, natural love of right and dislike of wrong, with a consequent feeling of approval or disapproval of the agent, all blend together in the constitution of the moral emotion. Instinctive impulses of benevolence and sympathy reinforce this feeling in certain directions, and judicious education and the practice of virtue may, when they coöperate, give immense force to the moral sentiment, just as, when unfavorable, they may extinguish moral sensibility even if they cannot completely pervert the moral judgment."⁷

Here, then, is the first meaning attaching to ethical person. The latter is a creature of original action, of initiative, and yet of movement to an end. He is subjected also to laws of solidarity. He is not the air-tight individual of Leibnitz, nor the wild, unrestrained satyr of Rousseau. He is one in whom all the meaning of selection, environment and heredity must be taken up and carried on anew. Mere association, mere instinctive points of contact with the race will not suffice. It is the inner cohesions, expressed in our mental processes and recognized as moral principles, that save the ethical situation from being mere slavish

⁷ M. Maher, "Psychology," p. 416.

submission to law and custom. Moral education might perhaps be made easier if we could come to believe that conduct is at bottom a system of non-rational impulses, and that even when reason does appear, it is not essentially a principle of self-determination. But the premises adduced for this belief, namely, the essential sameness of human and animal behavior and the concept of moral judgment as idealized experience, are too slender to make of this hope anything more than crude optimism. External pressure, whether conceived as the "Fate" of the Greek dramatists, the "Absolute" of some years back, or the "Environment" of to-day, is too remote, too unmeaning, too remorseless, too humanly soulless to be the alpha and omega of that pulsating inward thing we call the moral life. A keen desire to keep the idea of morality vital is at the root of the reflections of modern psychologists. The latter wish to make certain that the windows of the soul shall be kept open for the entrance of fresh air. It is this that makes them conceive self-control largely in terms of instinct-emotion processes, the formation of neutral pathways and the organization of physiological habits, for they feel that here at least every individual has assured contact with the great seething mass of his fellows. They are suspicious of a power of discrimination and origination that the older doctrine of personal morality required to be essentially intrinsic. But their fear is not warranted. Only a caricature of reason could make us agree with Balfour that rational necessity does not carry us beyond a system of mere solipsism. The fact is that the intellect does not perceive moral truths as a luxury. It is busy all the while fashioning motives for the will, seeking, as it were, to exercise itself in the field of social activities. There is in every rational judgment of ethics the moral necessity of realizing the terms of the judgment in conduct. The volitional process not only supplements the rational, but connects our moral life with 'the outside world. Ethical life assumes the further aspect of duty.

Passing over for the moment the question as to the ultimate base of obligation, we may pause to point out its distinctly personal character. Without fear of future Mills, Bains and Spencers, it may be confidently asserted that external compulsion is not the original factor in the feeling of duty. Sanction is not an ultimate term, but is further restricted "by the conditions in an individual which make it right to punish him." Social needs will suppose in every case our ability to respond by laying the categorical necessity from within ourselves. Even those who believe that the self is a social creation concede that we might as well have a society of stones and trees as of men, if the latter cannot react from the urging of obligation; "for to have a stable society the idea of coöperation, of

social service, of social responsibility, if they have not grown normally into the individual's sense of self, must be incorporated into it through proper social discipline and treatment."⁸ The language of Professor Todd is here undoubtedly a reflection of the present social theories; but it is clear that he is reverting to a somewhat older doctrine and that fundamentally he agrees with Lecky that usefulness to a society is a criterion that must rest ultimately on the recognition within us of a natural sense of moral obligation.

It ought to be clear that no ethical demand has any efficiency unless the self is responsive to that demand. A sphere in which right and wrong, obligation and responsibility have any real meaning cannot be the creation of exclusively external forces. There must be active coöperation of an intellect that assents and of a will capable of making the assent vital. But that there must be such a claim is equally evident, if means are ever to acquire the character of *oughtness*, by which responsibility can be intelligibly interpreted. The metaphysical relation of the individual to the end has already been discussed, but it was suggested at the time that metaphysics may fall short if it attempts to probe too deeply into the relation of means to end. It does not help to consider man in the abstract and to imagine that moral laws are simply deductions from this ideal order. Utopias of the sort break down before the expediently practical demands of actual life. They break down as they did in the case of the "natural law" of later Roman jurisprudence; as they did afterwards in the eighteenth century schemes of "natural rights." The ethical person is no doubt aware of a purposive element in his life, but as an individual he could hardly originate this purpose. A man may be a fool for not living up to his rational nature, as he is a fool for not living up to the laws of hygiene or for eating poisonous edibles; but he is not a fool, as moral philosophers have pointed out, for asking why he may not violate his nature and be a fool. In other words, it is senseless to say that a man is responsible to himself. In what way could he be? Reason only directs the act. It does not create the laws according to which the act should be directed. This is all that is meant by saying that the moral order of the human act is set up in the act of human reason. Categorical imperatives order because somewhere else there has already been established conviction regarding the things that they order. The strange inconsistency of all subjectivism, ancient or modern, is that, while professing a profound trust in the separate life of the individual, it substitutes *belief* for rational appraisals of conduct and identifies this belief with the emotional side of life. The

⁸ A. J. Todd, "Theories of Social Progress," p. 51.

assertion of self then becomes the glorification of impulsiveness. Each man adopts a plan of life for which he has a temperamental attraction. Few men will die for the ideal order that reason sets up. Many will accept greedily, and live, a system that makes each one's thoughts and desires the norm of living.

The very fact that there are creatures like ourselves capable of making demands on our conduct forever precludes subjectivism. The mere contact of man with man is not, though, entirely sufficient. In the adjustment of neighborly relations, in the clash of right with right, of obligation with obligation, there must be some force capable of dictating "all enveloping demands." Men must be in certain essential accord regarding the general purpose of life before they can be unanimous on the value of actions as means, or reach any definite conception as to the character of perfect human happiness. It can be granted that society, or a religion of humanity, in so far as it has possibilities of impressing on men a common purpose, may provide a basis for ethics. That society is the only supreme principle of moral obligation is another matter. If there is no supra-mundane existence, if there is no God, then life in society is the ultimate term of all our cravings and activity. The question is one of fact.

To the extent, however, that the subject lends itself to a *a priori* discussion, we may designate as an utter assumption the assertion that a world in which the highest consciousness is human offers a more solid foundation for ethics and makes conduct more virile than a world where appeal to a Divine Person is allowed. This would be true only on the supposition that an other-worldly principle so wasted all our energy as to leave us unfit for the obvious duties that we are called upon to fulfill in this world.⁹ But such a supposition is precisely what every theist denies. The assent, for example, that the Christian gives to God is not a mere intellectual approval, but what the logicians call a "real" assent, that is, an assent with all a man's seeing, feeling, thinking and acting. Isolation can be regarded as an aim only where many departments of life have been ignored; but this condition is evidently excluded in a plan that demands as a consequence of communion with God a better set of relations among men themselves. Absorption in God means simply that no complexus of worldly situations can ever be judged exclusively on its own merits apart from God and His law. And science or no science, the theist in arriving at this conclusion is no worse off and no more violates the laws of thought than the naturalist who supposes the supreme principle of conduct to reside in an enlarged, idealized humanity.

⁹ Encyclical of Leo XIII., on the Rosary.

The importance of God in an ethical scheme is that we have a Person who is capable of making imperative demands in a directly personal way on every consciousness, who introduces harmony and regulation among all the various demands which, in a system of finite necessities, have nearly all an equal value, and which, consequently, perplex thought and render action hesitating. This order has an immeasurable ethical advantage over one dominated entirely by ideas of a perfect society, which can hardly appear to the ordinary man as anything better than an abstraction. Why must I be altruistic? Because society has given me all I have? This might be a popular reason with the upper and solid middle classes, but the millions would openly laugh. Or because it is our unavoidable duty to assist in the realization of all those superiorities that George Bernard Shaw celebrates in our remote posterity? But how can we love those creatures who seem to us so snobbishly good, who triumph on our agonies, who would probably care less for us than we do about the explorers of America or the fathers of the Revolution? If we cannot love them, what terrestrial force will ever make us work and sweat for them? It will be said, of course, that this is our selfishness, which will disappear with the development of the great Eros. But, as James said, "in a merely human world without a God, the appeal to our moral energy falls short of its maximal stimulating power. Life, to be sure, is even in such a world a genuinely ethical symphony; but it is played in a compass of a couple of poor octaves, and the infinite scale of values fails to open up."¹⁰

Radical evolutionists, be it said to the credit of their common sense, entertain no such delusions on the matter. They are aware that the perfect order of things will not come simply because a Socrates or two wish it. They are not so comfortably sure, either, that "society will ultimately grow into the ethical type, and that the ethical type will demonstrate its superior strength and its fitness to survive." There is much reason for skepticism in the statements of Boaz, minimizing the amount of progress that has taken place from the time of our remote ancestors. Hence they put forth theories like that of Sutherland, who promises general justice and affection through the elimination of the cruel, stupid and perverse individuals of the species. They would breed better men by finding out what inheritable variations tend towards greater moral capacities. Results have been attained, with similar methods, among animals and plants: why not with men? It is a little crude, perhaps, and not easy of verification; but it is far preferable to hoping that society through the exercise of some magical power over individuals

¹⁰ "The Will to Believe," p. 212.

will educate men to the level where they simply cannot be false to their altruism, where they would no more commit themselves to a life of theft, lying and adultery than they would think of voluntarily starving themselves.

Does the relation of ethical value to individual conscience lead to the ridiculous doctrine of the unmeaning character of external things? Not if we remember that the world is not set over against the individual as if the two were in antagonism. A subject-object relation is, of course, impossible without a subject and an object. From the angle of ethics it is often advantageous to the economic, political, religious and general social situation that the individual conscience should recognize itself as out of harmony with existing institutions if progress is to be kept moral. If we are to retain that sensitiveness to the forces of idealism which makes for advancing civilization we must make allowance, in the ethical sphere, for the possibility of diverse loyalties, much after the fashion of what the recent school of federalists would create in the political sphere. Ethical centralization in public opinion would mean the substitution of legislation for conscience and convention for personal responsibility. Morality would rather be the external observance of prescribed acts, and the spirit in which the acts were performed would matter hardly at all. We should be on the level of Rome, where "superstition" was equivalent to transgressing the bounds of immemorial custom; or of Athens, where it was dangerous, as Aristides had reason to know, for a man to take more than his share of the public virtue.

In other words, we must forego the smug Greek doctrine of collective wisdom. It is too much to say, with Mr. Gilbert Cannan, that minorities are always right; but in spite of the high authority of Aristotle, majorities are sometimes wrong. Aristotle did not have enough faith in human nature to make right a matter of individual recognition and respect. A long legal history would seem to bear him out. At the same time, if the multitude have generally sound moral principles, this fact is satisfied as well by individual responsibility as by the belief that virtue is a coöperative institution. It is not a mathematical problem at all. We are not bound "to throw our ready caps in air" in favor of something that the majority has decided by vote, custom or selection to be right, just and binding on all. Or if we are, there is danger of a too great devotion to expediency which always confronts any social organization of which the moral purpose is not at every point instinct with the highest purpose.

But personal ethics are not selfish ethics or selfless ethics. The Christian religion, which constitutes the highest expression of per-

sonal morality yet given to the world, is proof positive of this. It is only a one-sided criticism that sees in the sense of personal guilt the desire of personal reward, the striving after personal holiness nothing but an attempt to adorn a "perfumed ego." The reckless abandon apparent in the question, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" has probably done more real good for the world than the appeal to a merely social altruism will ever be able to do. It is a concrete and real appeal.

T. B. MORONEY.

ASPECTS OF THE PINE.

"And still the pines of Ida wave aloft
Their tuneful, scented, dove-embowering shade;
And 'neath them twilight broods as gray and soft
As when of yore the shepherd Paris strayed
With glad *Ænone*.

—R. T. Nicholl ("Troy")

SINGLY and in groups, the attitudes assumed by the pine have ever appealed to painter and poet, and rightly so, since every pose is certain to be artistic. There is something withdrawn, contemplative, ascetic about a pine, while its quiet influence is so wholesome, uplifting, ennobling that, as Emerson says:

"Who leaves the pine-tree, leaves his friend,
Unnerves his strength, invites his end."—"Wood Notes")

and James Thomson observes how "o'er the rock, the scarcely-waving pine fills the brown shade with a religious awe." This tree is said to have inspired the Chinese pagoda, with its succession of peaked stories, and if, as Bryant tells us, "The groves were God's first temples," the poet has been quick to discover where certain places of worship may be found:

"Like two cathedral towers these stately pines
Uplift their fretted summits tipped with cones."
—Longfellow ("My Cathedral")

"I stood beneath some venerable pines
Where stately stems, like cloistered columns rose,
In wide cathedral aisles whose distant roof
Soars like the arch of heaven's protecting dome.
—H. P. ("In a Pine Grove")

"The pine is like a tall cathedral tower,
And underneath the snow-draped shrubs and briers
Seem kneeling groups of silent, white-robed friars."
—C. L. Hildreth ("Snow Sorcery")

Others have personified the trees, not as temples, but as servitors within the temple. "The pitchy mist hung moveless on the hill and hooded every pine-tree's reverend head," the Ettrick Shepherd describes it, and others have observed the same likeness:

"These are the friars of the wood,
The Brethren of the Solitude."
Arthur Ketchum ("The Pines")

"Tall hooded monks, in solemn band,
Uplifting prayerful arms they stand,
Intoning whispered orison
And glad triumphant antiphon!"

—Zitella Cocke ("The Comfort of the Pines")

"And see, those sable pines along the steep
Are come to join thy requiem, gloomy deep!
Like stoled monks they stand and chant the dirge
Over the dead, with thy low beating surge."

—Richard H. Dana ("The Ocean")

Paul Hamilton Hayne calls the pine "a swart Gitana of the woodland trees"; Eliza Cook observes the giant pine's "lofty head, like hearse plume waved about"; while its military qualities have not been missed:

"Like a soldier strictly charged
Never from his watch to yield;
Long ago was hushed the field
All his comrades long discharged."

—Charles De Kay ("The Last Pine")

"The pines upon the uplands merge from gloom
Of night, and with the dawn's intenser glow
Their serried lances bright and brighter grow."

—Zitella Cocke ("Sunrise")

"Then watch the black pines low-cowering,
Or crowding upward, where they pause,
Close-phalanxed, storming some great fastness,
Or strew their slain huge trunks like straws
Upon the mountain's vastness."

—Alfred Domett

It would be difficult to find a better simile, or a better description of a fallen pine, than the couplet in Alfred B. Street's poem:

"A rounded root a prostrate pine-tree rears,
A slumbering giant's mighty shield appears."

—("Burgoyne's Fleet")

Two poets have seen in the straight trunked tree a curious likeness to the indicator on a sun-dial:

"The shadow from the gnomon of the pine
Fell on the dial of the lawn, and told
In intervals of sun, the passing hours."—Lloyd Mifflin

"That tall pine, the shadow of whose bare
And slender stem, while I sit at eve,
Oft stretches towards me, like a long, straight path
Traced faintly in the greensward."—William Wordsworth

The height of the tree is one characteristic the poet could not fail to notice. Tennyson tells us "The pine shot aloft from the crag to an unbelievable height," Trowbridge remarks "where grow the

pine-trees tall and bland." Wordsworth sees "cloud-piercing pine-trees nod their troubled heads," and "dark pines thrusting forth their spiky head" through morning mists. To Emerson it is

"The plant to whose creation went
Sweet influence from every element;
Whose living towers the years conspired to build,
Whose giddy top the morning loved to gild."

The sight of some lonely pine growing upright out of a cliff is always an impressive sight, if for no other reason than the wonder how it can thrive there and maintain its footing. But Edward Roland Sill has seen more in such a hardy tree than merely a vegetable wonder, for he saw it with the eye of a poet and so traced a legendary origin in its presence there:

"A solitary pine has cleft the rock,
Straight as an arrow, feathered to the tip,
As if a shaft from the moon-huntress' bow
Had struck and grazed the cliff's defiant lip,
And stood, still quivering with the shock."

Sir Walter Scott has given us two good pine-tree sketches, one in "Rokeby," the other in "The Lady of the Lake";

"And towers erect, in sable spire,
The pine-tree scathed by lightning-fire."
"And higher yet, the pine-tree hung
His shattered trunk, and frequent flung,
Where seemed the cliffs to meet on high,
His boughs athwart the narrowed sky."

To Spenser it is "the sayling pine" in a double sense, one of which Wordsworth has hinted in his lines:

"Pines, on the coast, through mist their tops uprear,
That like to leaning masts of strained ships appear."

though otherwise he sees the trunk less and the top more:

"I saw far-off the dark top of a pine
Look like a cloud, a slender stem the tie
That bound it to its native earth."

("The Pine of Monte Mario at Rome")

and again

"In solemn shapes before the admiring eye
Dilated hang the misty pines on high."

(Descriptive Sketches)

Describing "Menotomy Lake," John T. Trowbridge names "the pines, tall and black, in the blue morning air." Among other aspects of the pines, Paul Hayne mentions how "tall, sombre, grim, against the morning sky they rise." And Leigh Hunt pays it high tribute in the lines:

"And still the pine, flat-topped and dark and tall
In lordly right predominant o'er all."

("The Pine Forest of Ravenna")

From this sublime idea, a certain anonymous poet hit upon the odd fancy of using the following comparison to impress upon his readers the great height of a mountain he was describing: "On his brow like dandelions, nodded the pines,"—not nearly so ridiculous a phrasing as it appears at first glance, since the dandelion has a striking resemblance to a miniature pine, and tall pines, on a mountain top, are relatively dandelions on a clod.

"In the calm grandeur of a sober line
We see the waving of the mountain pine,"

is an artistic principle laid down by John Keats, which explains the decided influence this tree has had on art, and particularly architecture.

That such an apparently rigid tree must give over at times some of its pride, is a didactic thought that has appealed to more than one poet:

"As the rud'st wind,
That by the top doth take the mountain pine
And make him stoop to the vale,"

is a helpful little moral found in "Cymbeline," paralleled in the couplet from Pope, though in milder form:

"As to soft gales top-heavy pines bow low
Their heads, and lift them as they cease to blow,"

Antonio, when he wishes to convince his friends of the implacability of Shylock's determination, tells them

"You may as well forbid the mountain pines
To wag their high tops, and to make no noise
When they are fretten with the gusts of heaven."

And it is an apt illustration, for all the unyielding Jew is compared to the yielding pine. If you have ever seen pine branches bending under the weight of a heavy snowfall, you will approve Lowell's comparison:

"His head was bowed with gathered flakes of years
As winter bends the sea-foreboding pine."

("The Voyage to Vinland")

Two other poetical uses of the poetical idea in this yielding to necessity are

"The other, like a pine, was like to yield
But upward sprang, and heavenward pointed still."

—Hartley Coleridge

"then he raised
 His head again,—like a tall pine that bends
 Unto a sudden blast, and so keeps bent
 Some moments till the tempest passes by."

—C. G. D. Roberts

Though naturally straight and tall and dignified, the pine, like man, is subject to malformation and distortion, often due to accident, but as often the result of this very yielding to the gusts of heaven:

"We paused amid the pines that stood
 The giants of the waste,
 Tortured by storms to shapes as rude

—Shelley

"The pines—those old gigantic pines,
 That writhe—recalling soon
 The famous human group that writhes
 With snakes in wild festoon—
 In famous wrestlings interlaced
 A forest Laocoön—
 Like Titans of primeval girth
 By fortunes overcome,
 Their brown enormous limbs they twine,
 Bedewed with tears of gum—
 Fierce agonies that ought to yell,
 But, like the marble, dumb."

—Thomas Hood

In its malformation the pine takes on human qualities, since it bears its misfortune with noble uncomplaining and makes the best of its lot. Lowell so sees it, and addresses it as "pine in the distance, patient through sun and rain." For if the pine has not been made the emblem of quiet patience, it should be, since this is its chief characteristic. Hence its harmony in scenes of pensive beauty:

"In this lone open glade I lie,
 Screened by deep boughs on either hand;
 And at its head, to stay the eye,
 Those black-crowned, red-boled pine-trees stand."

—Matthew Arnold ("In Kensington Gardens")

"And soothed by every azure breath
 That under heaven is blown,
 To harmonies and hues beneath,
 As tender as its own;
 Now all the tree-tops lay asleep,
 Like green waves on a sea,
 As still as in the silent deep
 The ocean woods may be."

—Shelley

But this calmness adapts itself to the time and the occasion, and even to the mood of the observer. So Meredith observes that "the

black pines dream of dawn." In "Indian Summer," Lucy Larcom sees

"Dark, sad pines stand breathless by,
Mourners sole, and mourning that they cannot die."

Helen Hunt Jackson, on the other hand, finds them courageous even in adversity, when throughout the September woods

"All is revolt, and all
Is lost for summer. Her only stay
And comfort now, the loving pines, who wait
In solemn grief, unmoved and undismayed
By guile or threats, and to their farthest kin,
A haughty and untarnished race, will keep
Eternally inviolate and green
Their sworn allegiance to her and all her name."

"But best of all I like it for
Its soft, eternal green,
Through all the winter winds that roar
It ever blooms serene,
It strengthens souls oppressed by fears,
By troubles multiform,
To turn, amid the stress of tears
A smiling face to storm."

—John Kendrick Bangs ("The Pine")

To John T. Trowbridge, the trees are "tall and bland," and so harmonizing perfectly with a pleasant midsummer day, while as a detail of an August landscape it becomes most fitting;

"E'en the tall pines, that rear
Their plumes to catch the breeze,
The slightest breeze from the unrefreshing west,
Partake the general languor, and deep rest."

—William D. Gallagher

Whittier, however, sees the tree keep its poise under less favorable circumstances, which self-centred aloofness he does not recommend as a worthy example to man:

"The mountain-pine looks calmly on
The fires that scourge the plains below,
Nor heeds the eagle in the sun,
The small birds piping in the snow."

George Meredith, too, gives us a picture of the pines which is full of didactic beauty:

"A wind sways the pines
And below
Not a breath of wild air;
Still as the mosses that glow
On the flooring, and over the lines
Of the roots, here and there,

The pine-tree drops its dead;
They are quiet, as under the sea.
Overhead, overhead
Rushes like in a race,
As the clouds the clouds chase;
And we go
And we drop like the fruits of the tree,
Even we,
Even so." ("Dirge in Woods")

As the eye leaps from one pine to its neighbor, and so on and on, it seems to communicate its motion to the trees, until the picture takes on life and movement;

"Aërial pines from loftier steps ascend
Nor stop but where creation seems to end."

Wordsworth tells us, a procession which Browning personifies still more concretely:

"Up and up the pine-trees go,
So, like black priests up, and so
Down the other side again."

But on another occasion, seeing them in profile, he hit upon another apt description:

"The moon came out; like features on a face,
A querulous fraternity of pines,
Also came out."

Probably one of the best bits of personification, as the trees would appear to campers about an open fire, is found in Richard Watson Gilder's lines:

"And as we talked, the intense and resinous fire
Lit up the towering boles, till nigh and nigher
They gather round, a ghostly company,
Like beasts who seek to know what men may be."

Both Browning and Richard Gilder have seen the trees as andirons or screens set between the observer and the sunset fires, though each has worded the poetical thought with characteristic modifications:

"The herded pines commune and have deep thoughts,
A secret they assemble and discuss
When the sun drops behind their trunks which glare
Like grates of hell." —Browning

"When o'er wide seas the sun declines,
Far off its fading glory shines,
Far off, sublime, and full of fear,
The pine woods bring the sunset near."

This fearful aspect of the pines, hinted in Gilder's lines, has impressed other observers:

"Lo! the lurching
And shivering pine-trees, like phantoms, that seem
To waver above, in the dark."

—Owen Meredith ("Lucile")

"The March wind whistles through the sombre pines,
Whose sable crests show on the mountain ridge,
Like bands of spectres, gaunt and gray and grim,
Against the cold blue sky," —Anon.

But the staid pine takes on a humorous aspect, in Tennyson's whimsical idea of establishing a wooded park according to the methods of "Amphion," with his magical lute:

"'Tis said he had a tuneful tongue,
Such happy intonation,
Wherever he sat down and sung
He left a small plantation;
Wherever in a lonely grove
He set up his forlorn pipes,
The gouty oaks began to move,
And flounder into hornpipes.
The mountain stirr'd its bushy crown,
And, as tradition teaches,
Young ashes pirouetted down
Coquetting with young beeches;
Old elms came breaking from the vine,
The vine stream'd out to follow;
And, sweating rosin, plump'd the pine
From many a cloudy hollow."

The expression "cloudy hollow" is a most poetical touch, proving Tennyson such an artist that he remained so even when he waxed humorous. It fits well with similar expressions employed by his fellow-poets. Robert Browning describes "the pine-wood, blind with boughs," Hamlin Garland exclaims "Oh, the sunless deeps of northern pines," Leigh Hunt tells of "a small sweet house in a nest of pines," and other such descriptions are:

"Two craggy slopes, sheer down on either hand,
Fall to a cleft, dark and confused with pines."—E. R. Sill.
"The hoary pines—those ancients of the earth—
Brimful of legends of the early world,—
Stood thick on their own mountains undisturbed."

—Charles Mair ("Tecumseh")

And this leads us to another aspect of the pines, as they look when seen at a distance. George Eliot notes that "pine woods are black upon the heights," George Francis Savage-Armstrong lets his gaze wander "amid the tangled pines that darkly robe the gorgeous steep," Whittier reports how "Green-belted with eternal pines, the mountains stretch away," also "how the sunshine tips with fire the

needles of the pine," which found earlier expression in Shakespeare's line, "the searching eye of heaven . . . fires the proud tops of the eastern pines." According to Hamlin Garland, "the mountains stand forth wearing a time-worn cloak of purple rocks and dark-green pines." Keats remarks their indistinguishable shapes "when thick night confounds the pine-tops with the clouds." Also at morning and at evening appear such pictures as:

"a green Alpine stream
Border'd, each bank, with pines; the morning sun,
On the wet umbrage of their glossy tops,
On the red pinings of their forest-floor,
Drew the warm scent abroad." —Matthew Arnold

"Warming to the red sunset's splendor bright,
Their sombreness departs, and they renew
The beauty of the day."

—R. F. Batchelder ("The Pines at Intervale")

But best of all is Lowell's well-known tribute to this universally beloved tree:

"Far up on Katahdin thou towerest,
Purple-blue with the distance and vast;
Like a cloud o'er the lowlands thou lowerest,
That hangs poised on a lull in the blast,
To its fall leaning awful."

H. W.

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SOME LATIN-AMERICAN POETS.

IT SEEMS almost incredible that there should be such little knowledge, among English-speaking peoples, of the achievement in letters of Latin-American writers who, since the days of Columbus and Cortez and Pizarro, have been developing a literature rich, virile and indigenous, in Mexico, Cuba and the countries of South America. Yet this, indeed, is not to be wondered at, when we consider that any knowledge of even the great masterpieces of Spanish literature—the work of a Cervantes, a Calderon and a Lope de Vega is very rare among English scholars. It is this limited curriculum of knowledge—especially of world literature and language—that gives such a provincial stamp and mould to English scholars in the larger university of the world, where it is not so much a question of American millions, and English Oriental trade, and the mountain peaks of Shakespeare, and the “imperial power” of the English tongue, as the broad culture derived from the assimilation of world ideas in art and literature, and the gift of touching the human heart in the accents of many tongues. Roman Imperialism closed in forgetfulness of the Roman gods, and in worship of the Eagle; will the Imperialism of to-day, in its proud self-sufficiency, turn from every altar of culture to worship its own standard, and regard the races born outside its conquered territories as *barbari*, or, to use the words of Kipling, in his much-lauded “Recessional,” “lesser breeds”?

In appraising the literature of the Latin countries of America, it would be well to remember that its seed was sown nearly a century and a half before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. It did not, therefore, spring up full blown and full grown, but dimly felt its way unaided by the intellectual forces that during the sixteenth century stirred Europe and gave to Spain a Lope de Vega and a Calderon, to France a Montaigne, a Racine and a Molière; and to England a Spenser and a Shakespeare.

It may be stated here, at the outset, in connection with the study of Spanish-American literature, that but two valuable collections of works by Spanish-American authors exist in America—one in the library of the Hispanic Society of America and the other in the library of Harvard University.

On Columbus' second voyage, thirteen monks accompanied him, and henceforth monastic establishments became an integral part of every considerable Spanish settlement. Soon after the discovery of the mainland, Mexico City and Lima became the two most important cities of civilization in America. The latter was named by its

founder, Francisco Pizarro, the Conquistador of Peru, *La Ciudad de los Reyes*.

As to the work of the religious in the early days of Latin America, Mr. A. Coester, in his "Literary History of Spanish America," writes: "To the honor of the monks and priests be it said, that having the natives as their special care, they made heroic efforts to protect the poor wretches from the rapacity of the seekers after gold." As regards the foundation of Catholic colleges in Latin America the earliest of which we have record is the Jesuit College of Bahia, in Brazil, which had its beginning in 1543. Then followed the University of the City of Mexico, which was founded in 1553, and the University of Lima, about the same date. The University of San Gregorio, at Quito, in 1620; the famous University of Santo Tomas, at Bogotá, in 1627, and, during the seventeenth century, the University of Chuquisaca, in Bolivia; the University of Cordoba, in Argentina, and the College of Santa Rosa, afterwards the University of Caracas, were all founded.

It should be remembered that the Golden Age of Literature in Spain—that is from 1550 to 1650—was also coeval with the age of adventure; and that a very large number of these early Spanish adventurers and explorers were also men of literary attainments. Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that nearly every great Spanish author has been a soldier or adventurer—at least as familiar with the pike as with the pen. Take for instance Cervantes, who as a soldier fought against the Turks in the battle of Lepanto. He was only a man of letters by accident. Cervantes was a soldier, a man of action, who would never have taken up the pen except in moments of recreation, if a long chain of misfortunes had not closed the other avenues of life.

Among the most famous of the friars, who preserved the letters of Columbus and the reports of Cortez, was Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, whose "Historias de las Indias" was written specially for the purpose of voicing an indignant protest against the treatment of the Indians at the hands of his fellow-countrymen. Education and culture in America received their chief impetus and were fostered by the Spanish authorities, through the establishment of universities and the introduction of the printing press, both the work and care of the clergy. The first book printed in America was the "Breve y Compendiosa Doctrina Christiana en lengua Mexicana y Castellana," in 1539, by Fray Juan de Zumarraga, first Bishop of Mexico. As regards Latin-American poetry, it may for convenience be divided into the Romantic, or Period of Adventure; the Revolutionary Period and the National Period.

In Mexico the deeds of Cortez found their epic poet in Antonio

de Saavedra Guznian, who published his "Pelegrino Indiano" in twenty cantos in 1599. Perhaps no other American writer of the Colonial or Romantic Period was surrounded by such a halo of mystery and glory as Sor Ines Juana de la Cruz, who was born in 1651 and died in 1695. She was known as the Tenth Mexican Muse, and is regarded by critics as taking second rank in the world of letters after the Cuban Doña Gómez de Avellaneda. Her literary works fill three volumes. After being for many years the peerless star of the Viceregal Court of Mexico, she entered the convent and became a religious. Numerous epics, half history, half romance, were written in Latin America about the episodes of the Conquest. Of these the "Auraco Domado" is one of the earliest. Another famous epic, dealing with the episode of the Conquest, is "Lima Funda," composed by the Peruvian poet, Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century nearly all the South American colonies, together with Mexico, broke away from their parent holdings. It was a period of revolution, and one of the chief poets of this revolution was José Joaquín Olmedo, of Ecuador, who is known as the American Pindar. According to the great Spanish critic, Menéndez y Pelayo, Olmedo is one of the three or four great Spanish-American poets. Olmedo's poem celebrating the success of Bolívar at the battle of Junín, was published in London and Paris, under the title "La Victoria den Junín Canto a Bolívar." But by far the greatest revolutionary poet was José María Heredia, who by the way was a cousin of the great French sonneteer, Heredia. José María Heredia's verses were filled with burning inspiration. He was born in Cuba in 1803, was involved in the first insurrection in that country, and was banished to the United States, but was permitted to return in 1836. While in the United States, Heredia wrote an ode to Niagara Falls, which William Cullen Bryant translated. Here are the opening lines:

"Tremendous torrent! for an instant hush
The terrors of thy voice and cast aside
Those wide-involving shadows, that my eyes
May see the fearful beauty of thy face!
I am not all unworthy of thy sight,
For from my very boyhood have I loved,
Shunning the meaner track of common minds,
To look on Nature in her loftiest mood."

Heredia possessed an intense temperament and he reveals this intensity in his "Ode to the Hurricane":

"Lord of the winds! I feel thee nigh;
I know thy breath in the burning sky;

And I wait with a thrill in every vein
For the coming of the hurricane!"

Esteban Echeverría, who was born in 1809 and died in 1851, may be regarded as the national poet of Argentina. After the independence of Argentina, Echeverría went to Europe. "Los Consuelos," written by Echeverría, are short poems in Byronic manner. Quite a unique and individual poet of Latin America is José Eusebio Caro, who was born in 1817 and died in 1853. Caro is regarded as the Puritan of South American literature. He possesses considerable lyrical quality and a notion of his workmanship may be obtained from the following translation of his poem, "En Boca del Ultimo Inca," by Alfred Coester:

"To-day arriving on Pinchincha's slope
The deadly cannon of the whites I flee;
Like the Sun a wanderer, like the Sun a flame,
Like the Sun free.

"O Sun, my Father, hearken! Marco's throne
Lies in the dust; thy altar's sanctity
Profaned; exalting thee alone I pray,
Alone, but free.

"O Sun, my Father, hearken! A slave before
The nations of the world: I'll not agree
To bear the mark. To slay myself I come,
To die, though free.

"To-day thou wilt perceive me when afar
Thou dost begin to sink into the sea,
Singing thy hymns on the volcano's top,
Singing and free.

"To-morrow, though, alas! when once again
Thy crown throughout the East will shining be,
Its golden splendor on my tomb shall fall—
My tomb, though free.

"Upon my tomb the condor will descend
From heaven: the condor, bird of liberty,
And building there its nest will hatch its young,
Unknown and free."

The three most eminent classical poets of Spanish America are: Bello, of Venezüela, who is better known in connection with the literature of Chile; Olmedo, of Ecuador, and Heredia, of Cuba. Reference has already been made to the work of the two latter. Don Andrés Bello, who was born in 1781 and died in 1865, was the

most consummate master of the three in poetic diction, though he lacked the brilliancy of Olmedo and the spontaneity of Heredia.

We have already made mention of two gifted Spanish-American women—Sor Ines Juana de la Cruz, of Mexico, and Doña Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, of Cuba. The latter went with her mother to Spain and in 1839 published her first volume of verse in Cadiz. A writer tells us that the brilliant Cuban was as unfortunate in love as she was successful in her literary endeavors. The reigning Cuban poetess of to-day is Doña Dulce Maria Borrero de Lujan. She is credited with the most beautiful sonnet ever written in Cuba. Here is Mr. Coester's version of it:

"Keep on, O knight! With lance uplifted ride
To punish every wrong by righteous deed:
For constancy at last shall gain its meed
And justice ever with the law abide.

"Mambrino's broken helmet don with pride;
Advance undaunted on thy glorious steed;
To Sancho Panza's cautions pay no heed;
In destiny and thy right arm confide.

"At fortune's coy reserve display no fear,
For should the Cavalier of the White Moon
With arms 'gainst thine in combat dare appear,
Although by adverse fate thou art o'erthrown,
Of Dulcinea even in death's hour swear
That she will always be the only fair.

Another Cuban poet with sustained inspiration is Rafael Maria de Mendire, who was born in 1821 and died in 1886. A Cuban critic, however, says that Mendire's lyre has but one string, and this is thought to be a just characterization of Mendire's sentimental poetry. This Cuban poet made some excellent translations from Byron and Moore. His translation of the latter's melodies earned for him the sobriquet of the Cuban Moore. Mendire's work is marked by great tenderness. His "*Sourisa de la Virgen*," as translated by Longfellow, is full of tenderness and delicacy.

THE VIRGIN'S SMILE.

"Purer than the early breeze
Or the faint perfume of flowers,
Maiden! through thine angel hours
Pass the thoughts of love;
Purer than the tender light
On the morning's gentle face;
On thy lips of maiden grace,
Plays thy virgin smile.

The literary revolution known as the *Modernista* movement, and dating from the publication in Buenos Aires, in 1888, of Rubén Darío's "Azul," soon found recruits among young Chileans. To the *Modernista* movement Bolivia gave Ricardo J. Freyre, who was associated with Rubén Darío.

The poet laureate of Colombia, who enlivens the brilliant society of Bogotá to-day, is Antonio José Restrepo, of whose poems the most celebrated are "Un Canto" and "El Dios Pau."

The masterpiece of Uruguayan literature is the long poem, "Tabaré." Comparison has been made between "Tabaré" and Longfellow's "Hiawatha," but there is little similarity in subject, manner or spirit. More national in character are the poems of Santiago Maciel, born in 1867. His first volume, "Auras Primaverales," contains a notable poem on the war between Chile and Peru. In 1893 he published "El Floridel Trebol," a long poem redolent of Uruguayan fields.

The muses have not indeed forsaken the daughters of Spain in the New World, but have followed in the wake of the Conquistadores and inspired soldier, friar, scholar and peasant to fashion in epic, ode and lyric the heroic deeds of high emprise—the dreams that have filled the soul of Latin America since Spanish galleons first turned their prows from Cadiz towards the alluring shores of a western world.

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Toronto, Can.

Book Reviews.

"The Foundations of True Morality." By the Rev. Thomas Slater, S. J., author of a "Manual of Moral Theology," etc. 12mo., pp. 88. New York: Benziger Bros.

"In the modern world, progress in the art and science of living has not kept pace with progress in the other arts and sciences. Man does not lead a better and a happier life than he used to do. There are many indications that human conduct is getting worse, and that men are more discontented, more miserable than they used to be. One means of moral progress would be to provide a sound and universally accepted code of ethics. The world would then have at least a moral standard by which human actions could be judged. It would go a long way towards forming a healthy public opinion on all moral questions. The Christian religion furnishes the highest moral standard ever manifested in the world. Unfortunately, there are two fundamentally different conceptions of Christian morality, the Catholic and the Protestant. Perhaps if we put them side by side the truth will appear. With this object I have written the following pages."

A laudable object, surely. The difference in regard to the Christian standard of morals, like all differences in regard to Christian truth, is most unfortunate. It not only leads many to follow a false standard, but it encourages many more to depart from all standards. In the moral field this tendency is probably stronger than in any other. The restraints put on man by the moral law are so repugnant to the tendencies of his fallen nature that he is only too glad to find an excuse to depart from it altogether. The best way to prevent this is the way chosen by Father Slater: to lay the foundation of true morality. The reverend author is no stranger in this field. His other works on morals have given him an international reputation, and are a guarantee of excellence in the present instance. The book is so brief and yet so complete that it ought to do a world of good if it can get the circulation which it deserves.

"The Soul of Ireland." By W. J. Lockington, S. J. With an Introduction by G. K. Chesterton. 12mo., pp. 182. New York: The Macmillan Co.

In his introduction, Mr. Chesterton says: "The resurrection of Ireland, of which Father Lockington writes here with so much spirit and eloquence, is really a historical event that has the appearance of a miracle." And indeed it is true. This is a beautiful book. The Soul of Ireland is her faith, and the author shows the effect

of this faith on the people at all times. But he does it in such a manner as to make the blood boil with indignation at the persecution which tortured them while it tried to rob them of this priceless gift. Tears come unbidden to the eye that scans these pages. And the story is told in sorrow rather than in anger. For that reason it is all the more touching.

Father Lockington knows the Irish people well and he knows how to make others know them. His descriptions of the country are beautiful, especially for those who have visited Ireland. His pictures of the people practicing their faith at home, in church, publicly, privately, in joy and in sorrow, on feast days and on ordinary days, are graphic, eloquent and edifying. Nothing could prove more conclusively that "the divine gift of faith that St. Patrick threw like a white mantle over the whole land covers it to-day as pure and untarnished as when he walked the earth."

No wonder the author says: "Once let the heart of the people of England be touched by the truth regarding Ireland, their sense of justice will insure that Ireland will take her proper place as sister with sister, and no longer be the Cinderella of the Empire."

"Democratic Industry; a Practical Study in Social History." By Joseph Husslein, S. J., Ph. D., lecturer on Sociology at Fordham University. 12mo., pp. 362. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

"A Living Wage." By John A. Ryan, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Moral Theology and Industrial Ethics at the Catholic University of America. Revised and abridged edition. 12mo., pp. 182. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Catholics ought to be proud of two such excellent books on this burning question at this critical moment. Nothing but religion will save the day in the serious conflict between capital and labor, which is almost as old as man, but which has reached its most crucial stage in our day. But religion must speak in no uncertain tones. She must not be satisfied with vague terms. She must not rest content with warning men against false and unjust remedies for the evil, but she must be prepared to offer the only true and efficient remedy. This is what the authors of the books before us have tried to do. Father Husslein's book is more historic; Dr. Ryan's more economic. The former says: "Based on historic facts the present volume is purely constructive in its nature. It applies the acid test of experience to the great social issues and closes with a definite programme of practical social action." The author shows the position of the workingman in the world throughout the ages, beginning with Egyptian labor unions and coming down to our own time. All thoughtful men agree that the only economic bulwark to safeguard the domestic peace of the nations is the establishment of a true democracy in our industrial life. Ancient pagan

civilization has failed in this. With the aid of the Church, labor rose from slavery to serfdom, and from serfdom to democratic industry. The author carefully traces these developments, explaining the causes which interrupted this progress, and backing up his assertions with quotations from impartial and reliable sources.

Dr. Ryan's book is a new edition little more than half the size of the former one. In the present edition, he has rewritten many passages. All material that has been retained has been carefully revised and brought up to date, so that this volume now represents the author's latest and best judgment on the present aspects of the great problem.

"Talks to Nurses; the Ethics of Nursing." By Henry S. Spalding, S. J., Professor of Ethics in St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, formerly lecturer on Social Science in Loyola University, Chicago. 12mo., pp. 197. New York: Benziger Bros.

A timely book because the nursing ranks are extending rapidly in every direction; a necessary book because the nurse's calling has a very distinct ethical side to it.

As in the medical profession, so here, there is a constant conflict between right and expediency; and as the conscientious, God-fearing doctor must have correct standards of morality to which he clings in spite of all inducements to depart from them, so the nurse. It is not easy for the young doctor, without experience, to distinguish between the lawful and unlawful in the practice of his profession, unless he has received special instructions in its ethics. It is harder for the nurse, because her position will always be subject to the doctor, and the first rule of her calling is obedience. But there is a higher law than man's, and when the two conflict God must be obeyed. It is precisely to tell the nurse when this conflict is apt to take place that Father Spalding has written this first book on the ethics of nursing from a Catholic standpoint. Every Catholic nurse should have it, study it and keep it by her for reference. Such a course will preserve her from serious error in the practice of her profession and will add very much to her efficiency.



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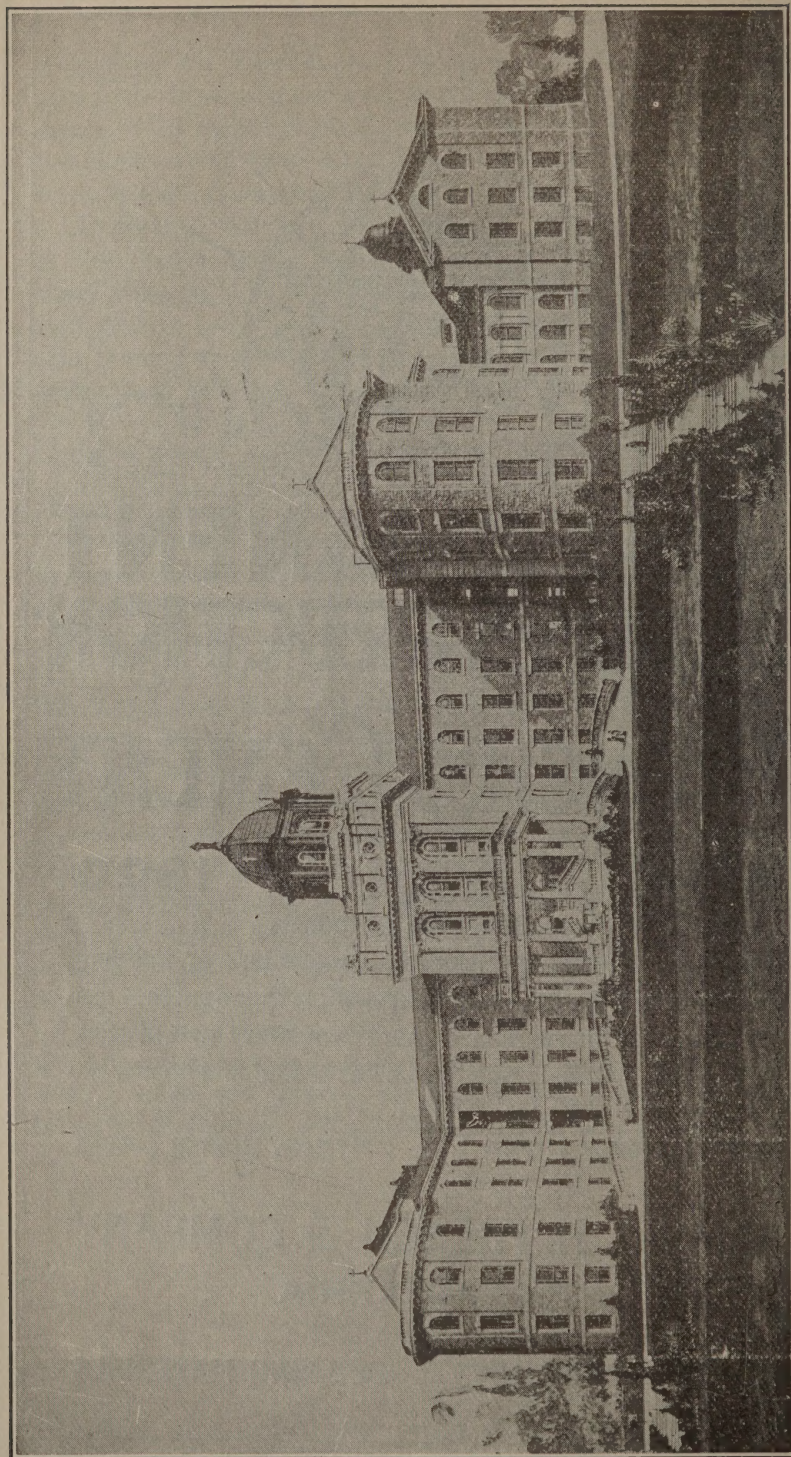
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